

Death and the Maiden

**Girls' Initiation Rites in
Greek Mythology**

Ken Dowden



VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

Death and the Maiden

A remarkable number of Greek myths concern the plight of virgins – slaughtered, sacrificed, hanged, transformed into birds, cows, deer, bears, trees, and punished in Hades.

Death and the Maiden, first published in 1989, contextualises this mythology in terms of geography, history and culture, and offers a comprehensive theory firmly grounded in an ubiquitous ritual: pubescent girls' rites of passage. By means of comparative anthropology, it is argued that many local ceremonies are echoed throughout the whole range of myths, both famous and obscure. Further, Professor Dowden examines boys' rites, as well as the renewal of entire communities at regular intervals.

The first full-length work in English devoted to passage-rites in Greek myth, *Death and the Maiden* is an important contribution to the exciting developments in the study of the interrelation between myth and ritual: from it an innovative view on the origination of many Greek myths emerges.

This page intentionally left blank

Death and the Maiden

Girls' Initiation Rites in Greek Mythology

Ken Dowden



Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

First published in 1989
by Routledge

This edition first published in 2014 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN
and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 1989 Ken Dowden

The right of Ken Dowden to be identified as author of this work has been asserted by him in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Publisher's Note

The publisher has gone to great lengths to ensure the quality of this reprint but points out that some imperfections in the original copies may be apparent.

Disclaimer

The publisher has made every effort to trace copyright holders and welcomes correspondence from those they have been unable to contact.

A Library of Congress record exists under LC control number: 88035732

ISBN 13: 978-1-138-01430-5 (hbk)

ISBN 13: 978-1-315-79475-4 (ebk)

DEATH AND THE MAIDEN

*Girls' Initiation Rites
in Greek Mythology*

KEN DOWDEN



ROUTLEDGE
LONDON AND NEW YORK

ΑΛΟΧΩΙ ΚΟΥΡΙΔΙΗ
ΚΟΥΡΩΙ ΤΕ ΚΟΥΡΗΙ ΤΕ ΝΕΟΓΝΗΙ

First published 1989
by Routledge
11 New Fetter Lane, London EC4P 4EE
29 West 35th Street, New York, NY 10001

© 1989 Ken Dowden

Disc Conversion, by Columns of Reading
Printed in Great Britain by Richard Clay Ltd

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be
reprinted or reproduced or utilized in any form or
by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now
known or hereafter invented, including photocopying
and recording, or in any information storage or
retrieval system, without permission in writing from
the publishers.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Dowden, Ken

Death and the maiden: girls' initiation
rites in Greek mythology.

1. Ancient Greek myths. Symbolism

I. Title

292'.37

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Dowden, Ken, 1950–

Death and the maiden.

Bibliography: p.

Includes indexes.

1. Mythology, Greek. 2. Girls–Mythology.

3. Initiation rites–Mythology. I. Title.

BL795.G57D69 1989 292'.37 88–35732

ISBN 0–415–01263–5

CONTENTS

List of Maps	vii
Preface	viii
1 ORIGINS OF A MYTHOLOGY: A VIEW FROM THE GRAVE	1
2 THE NORTH-EAST: IPHIGENEIA, DEER, AND BEARS	9
3 THESSALIANS AND OTHER AEOLIC GREEKS: ACHILLES AND LEUKIPPOS	49
4 TIRYNS: THE DAUGHTERS OF PROITOS	71
5 TRIPHYLIA: MELAMPOUS AND THE NYMPHS OF ARTEMIS	97
6 MYCENAE: IO AND ARGOS 'ALL-SEEING'	117
7 ARGOS AND RHODES: THE DANAIDS	147
8 SHORT STORIES FROM ACHAIA AND ARCADIA	167
9 ORIGINS OF A MYTHOLOGY: SOME CONCLUSIONS	193

CONTENTS

Notes	205
Bibliography	237
Name Index	247
Subject Index	253
Index of Modern Authors	256

LIST OF MAPS

2	Iphigeneia and <i>Arkteia</i>	8
3.1	Achilles and Leukippos: Greek mainland	48
3.2	Achilles and Leukippos: Greece and the colonies	52
4	Proitids and Agriania	70
5	Melampous	96
6	Io	116
7	The Danaids	146
8	Short stories	166

PREFACE

Greek mythology is enticing but elusive, defying us to develop interpretations that are widely or lastingly acceptable. Yet, in the search for a firm basis, a special position is occupied by those myths which can be successfully related to types of ritual: these at least can be seen to have played an intelligible role in the religious perceptions of Greeks of a particular place at a particular time – they can cease to be floating islands. In this study I have been grateful to live in an age when the works of Jeanmaire and Brelich are increasingly understood and when inspiring scholars such as Burkert, Graf, and Bremmer constantly tame more of Greek myth. I cannot pretend to match their expertise, but I do attempt to draw together and to extend the number of myths of Greek maidens which can be understood in the light of ritual, so (I hope) unifying an important and extensive sector of the mythology around a single method. In this way myth itself can be made to generate workable conclusions about the religious practices of Greeks otherwise lost from our sight.

I do not subscribe to the common view that conceptual clarity is gained by distinguishing myth from saga, legend, folk-tale, etc., and consider pages spent on all-embracing definitions of ‘Myth’ unhelpful and prejudicial. In this book I discuss some myths without denying that there are other important types of myth, and use a particular historical approach which does not deny the possibility of other, very different approaches to the myths under discussion – notably those often humane and revealing studies burdened by the label ‘structuralist’.

The division of material into chapters is by particular myths of

PREFACE

a single area, though occasionally I have attempted to broaden horizons by 'interludes' varying from the strict subject of the chapter. This division results from my firm emphasis on the local origins and local significance of the myths I discuss, a return in some ways (particularly when hypothesizing tribal movements) to methods practised and results gained at the turn of the century. At the same time, the various myths speak something of a common language and the understanding of that language grows throughout this book. I have therefore, in addition to the indices, included a number of cross-references to particular sections of chapters to guide the reader to discussions of motifs which have become scattered. Mythology is particularly difficult in this respect, as one discussion always presupposes another.

To assist the emphasis on locations, a map or maps (finely drawn by Howard Mason) are included with most chapters. But I have chosen not to print illustrations, though copious and interesting ancient depictions of myth are available: they are a luxury which would not add to the argument and which, however agreeable, would add disproportionately to the costs of production.

Passages from ancient texts are almost all in English translation (my own), making sometimes obscure texts readily available to students of mythology who have not had the benefit of training in Latin and Greek. The endnotes are designed to indicate as fully as possible the basis on which statements in the text are made and themselves hopefully offer a basis of reference independent of the value of arguments in my main text. For conventions in citation of ancient authors, see page 205; for convention in citation of modern authors, see page 237f. The notes link with the Bibliography, which is neither select nor critical: it functions as the key to the notes.

Two anonymous readers deserve credit, amongst much else, for provoking the last chapter of this book. And my friends too have helped me more than I deserve: Peter Walcot gave me every support and encouragement from my first days at University College Cardiff to its last; and even in the last stages of his *Pelagius*, Bryn Rees found time for a hawk-eyed and good-humoured examination of my typescript. I owe other debts to Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood and Nick Fisher, but must invidiously single out Jan Bremmer, who was exceptionally unstinting

PREFACE

with time and energy and rescued the author on innumerable occasions from indolence and ignorance. For what remains, the reader may safely blame the author.

Even Hesiod reckoned that a man could wish for nothing finer than a good wife. He was right and the dedication of this book is some slight recognition of an immeasurable debt, as well as a thought for the enduring importance of the entry to adult life with which Greek myth and ritual was long ago concerned.

This has been a book of transitions. Its subject is transitions to adulthood. Its author has enjoyed a change of university. And Croom Helm who commissioned this book have been embraced by Routledge who now publish it. None of these transitions is unwelcome: it is without any depreciation of former times that one sees in these new departures strength and fulfilment. Two names demand inclusion in this context: Professor Lee Sheridan, who in one liminal stage did more than any other man could have to rekindle the morale and cohesion of a society; and Richard Stoneman, whose work as commissioning editor at Croom Helm (and now Routledge) has been conducted with skill and humanity, notably advancing Classics in times whose values have not yet wholly swung away from the traditions of civilization.

University of Birmingham
1989

ORIGINS OF A MYTHOLOGY: A VIEW FROM THE GRAVE

1 TOMBS WORTH WRITING ABOUT

When over 1,800 years ago Pausanias wrote his guide-book to ancient Greece, he had in mind an audience interested not so much in nature as in the buildings and monuments of man. Oropos, between Athens and Tanagra, was in Pausanias' eyes a failure: 'The city is on the coast and has nothing important to write about.' Successful cities bristle with council chambers and civic monuments, and especially with temples, ancient statues, shrines of great heroes, and other notable graves. One such city is Megara. 'The Megarians have tombs *inside* the city', Pausanias approvingly relates. There is a tomb for those who fell during the Persian invasion; we are told the story of the *Aisymnion*, the council chamber where heroic dead are buried. Presently, as we walk through the city, we have almost reached the *heroön* of the founding father *Alkathoös*, and pause to appreciate the tombs of his first wife Pyrgo, and of his daughter *Iphinoë*.¹

The reader can quickly tire of tombs of parochial figures, but their very frequency shows the significance they had for ancient Greek societies. Tombs of the legendary dead are not called into existence by the need to dispose of corpses; rather, the inhabitants of an ancient town need a specific place or position in which to recall and commemorate what that figure of legend means to them.

And what does Iphinoë, daughter of Alkathoös, mean to the Megarians? This is what Pausanias tells us:

. . . the other tomb is said to be that of Iphinoë, daughter of Alkathoös; she died, they say, whilst still a maiden [*parthenos*].

There is a custom that girls [*korai*] bring libations to the tomb of Iphinoë before marriage and make an offering of hair – just as the daughters [*thygateres*] of the Delians used once to shear their hair for Hekaërgē and Opis. (Pausanias 1.43.4)

As this book is mainly about the rites of *parthenoi* or *korai*, I will pause briefly to describe what is meant by these terms. A *parthenos*, such as Iphinoë, is a girl who is not yet married. Although she is expected not yet to have had sexual experience, *parthenia* does not directly refer to virginity or end, as Sissa has shown, with the rupture of the hymen. Indeed, Greek medical writers were ignorant of the hymen or denied its existence or found no place for it in their comprehensive accounts of the female anatomy.² Virginity in any case could not be tested (we hear occasionally of magico-religious ordeals) and could only be preserved by the unremitting vigilance of the parents. Although *parthenia* was perceived as adversely affected by premature sexual experience (to deflower is to *diapartheneuin*), the real issue was marriageability and the real contrast was between *parthenos* and *gyne*, the married woman. A *parthenos* is a maiden, not a virgin.

Kore, or *koure*, which I have translated ‘girl’, is for our purposes scarcely different from *parthenos* and there is even a corresponding verb for ‘deflower’, *diakoreuein*. However, *kore* also denotes a relationship: to be somebody’s *kore* is also to be their daughter (*thygater*); its contrast with *gyne* is therefore rather more specific than that of *parthenos* and the contrast reveals the transfer of authority over the woman: once her father’s *kore*, she now becomes her husband’s *gyne*. This is the transition which Iphinoë fails to make.

The *korai* of Megara cut their hair for the dead *parthenos* Iphinoë. Pausanias, in the second century AD, must regard cutting the hair before marriage as somewhat unusual and even old-fashioned, citing an obsolete custom from Delos to illuminate the practice. Yet we know from Euripides that not so far away, at Troizen, it was in his time the custom for girls before they married to cut their hair for Hippolytos – this time a youth who fails to reach adulthood – and we know from a lexicographer that Athenian youths beginning their *ephebeia* (the last remnant of warrior initiation in the civilized *polis*) cut their hair too. This is a

rite of passage, a rite by which an individual or a group performs the transition from one status in society to another, and a common one in initiations into the adult community: 'A girl's head is shaved at the moment of marriage to indicate a change from one age group to another' (Van Gennep 167). To cut the hair is to change the person, to lay aside an identity. This is what Megarian *korai* must do before they can become *gynaikes*.

One might expect the shorn hair to be offered to a goddess – to Hera perhaps or Athene or, like hair shorn at *Koureotis* (the third day of the Apatouria in Attica), to Artemis.³ But in our case it is not. Our Megarian maidens must seek out the tomb of Iphinoë, about whom we know only two facts: (a) she died whilst still a maiden; (b) she is the daughter of founding father Alkathoös. These details suffice. The Megarian girls lay down their *parthenia*, their maidenhood, at the tomb of the dead maiden; and the dead maiden, being daughter of the original, primeval king, is the community's prototype. The tomb of the maiden is not only an ideal place at which to mark the ending of maidenhood; it is, in fact, its central, organic purpose, its *raison d'être*.

2 THE CREATION OF MYTH: A HYPOTHESIS FOR TESTING

But the tomb of Iphinoë is still more significant: it is a mythological matrix. It shows the origins of a prevalent type of mythology and exhibits that mythology in its simplest form. The tomb is the place at which to perform a passage ritual, but once called a tomb it is a motif in a new language, a language in which ending maidenhood is figured as the death of a maiden. That language is myth. Because the rite is performed at a tomb, there can now be a myth which tells how a certain maiden once died. Is this why maidens fare so badly in Greek mythology – murdered, sacrificed, taking their own lives, transformed into bears, cows, or trees? All these motifs serve to terminate maidenhood.

We can now watch our myth develop. If we let the Iphinoë model evolve (logically, not historically) so that a divinity is actively involved, we might well envisage a ceremony performed under the auspices of the goddess Artemis. The tomb of the maiden might now be situated inside the sanctuary of Artemis.

(As a matter of historical fact, there is a tomb of Iphigeneia next to the Artemis sanctuary at Megara and inside the Artemis sanctuary at Brauron.) And the myth acquires a new feature too: the maiden must die, somehow in connection with Artemis or in her sanctuary. How? She will of course (*a priori*) be sacrificed to Artemis. From this point of view, the story of how Agamemnon was instructed to sacrifice his daughter Iphigeneia to Artemis makes very good sense – if only it were unconnected with the Trojan War. And our hypothesis will be that it was indeed originally independent.

This is a view of mythology which operates with a number of hypotheses. The test of those hypotheses is by experiment and the interpretations of this book are that experiment. I am therefore not at this stage concerned for instance that there is a common view that cult of heroes at their tombs is a late development, which itself is only a hypothesis (though the style of cult may have changed). This book operates with a very different hypothesis, that the commemoration of heroes and legendary figures and association with them through ritual go back at least to Bronze Age times when some of the myths under discussion were formed, and maybe reach back in some form to much remoter times [ch.9.2].

The myths I am concerned with are a surprisingly substantial portion of Greek mythology. They are those narratives which on interpretation correspond to the passage rites from maidenhood to the status of married women. Assignment of a given myth to this category is by experimental interpretation. But behind the interpretation lies the hypothesis that these myths are specific historical phenomena. They can be traced back to specific locations, belong to specific peoples, and serve specific purposes. It is only shortage of data that reduces the precision with which one can explain this type of myth.

At birth, the hypothesis continues, this myth is fixed to a people and is specially connected with a sacred place – a shrine or a tomb – where these passage rites take place. This location figures in the myth itself and can often be preserved even when the myth has quite lost its original purpose: therefore locations which figure in the descendants of the original myth (which are our sole sources) are greatly to be treasured as preserving the original context of the myth. So the location at Aulis is a crucial

fact in the Agamemnon and Iphigeneia myth.

The myth can develop in various ways. When a people migrates, the location of their rituals changes and so may the location of the myth. When a people splits, doublets may result. In its ritual context, the myth is largely protected against alteration by the constraints of significance. But when the significance of the ritual declines and the attractions of the narrative increase, then alteration becomes more likely, particularly in the hands of entertainer poets – even if the traditional tastes of audiences restrict the flexibility of the poet.⁴ Good stories become part of the repertoire of travelling poets addressing a more cosmopolitan, or ‘panhellenic’, market – Iphigeneia becomes part of the Trojan War saga. And those poets who systematize traditions (‘genealogists’) must make compromises to do so.

3 METHOD AND REVELATIONS

On this view, there is an original myth to be recovered, however old-fashioned it may be to think so and to return to techniques practised at the beginning of this century. Our first task in each case is to recover the original (cult) myth so far as possible, as it is that to which the interpretation relates; there are all sorts of dangers in this pursuit, notably of unfathomable contamination of variants resolved only by *petitio principii*, but it is too necessary to allow oneself the luxury of despair.⁵ Where possible I discuss cult practice in relation to the interpretation, but it will soon become apparent that it is the myth itself which in many cases (if correctly interpreted) contains the last surviving evidence for practices long forgotten – even by the Greeks themselves.

I have tried to explore enough myths to include important, representative or particularly interesting examples and to establish a method, but have not been able to be exhaustive. At the same time, though my focus is on a particular type of myth, I have not wished to exclude or curtail related subjects which might cast some light on Greek history, language, or culture. There is a remarkable amount of material, not just on Greek religion, which is available for recovery through this sort of study – provided only that the following pages justify the working hypotheses.

4 INITIATION – EXAGGERATION?

Initiation and mythology are not small subjects. Any mythology, even that which is no more than story-telling or the fiction of its age, taps concerns, transcends them, or escapes them. A mythology such as the Greek, which is the common property of whole societies (even if those societies stretch no further than individual towns) and not just of those who will read the author's work, should in principle reveal a people's perception of its life. And mythology which survives the migration of peoples has some certificate of its continuing validity.

Initiation may seem at first sight to be just one amongst many aspects of early societies or of those societies not yet seriously affected by the social destruction wrought by industrial and economic revolutions. It may seem indeed colourful, but perhaps be distrusted as a current vogue in scholarship comparable with the esoteric symbolisms, solar mythologies, savageries, manas, totemisms, and fertilities of earlier generations, not to mention the structuralisms and feminisms of our own. It will be evident to every reader that the problem is usually one of perspective and proportion, rather than simply of error (though Creuzerian symbolism and the solar pursuits of Max Müller may be rightly viewed less kindly). I have tried throughout this book to avoid initiatory panacea and am acutely conscious of the availability of quite different interpretative frameworks that are simultaneously valid. At the same time, initiation seems to me a particularly important aspect of earlier Greek society and seems more important to me now than it did when I first started writing.

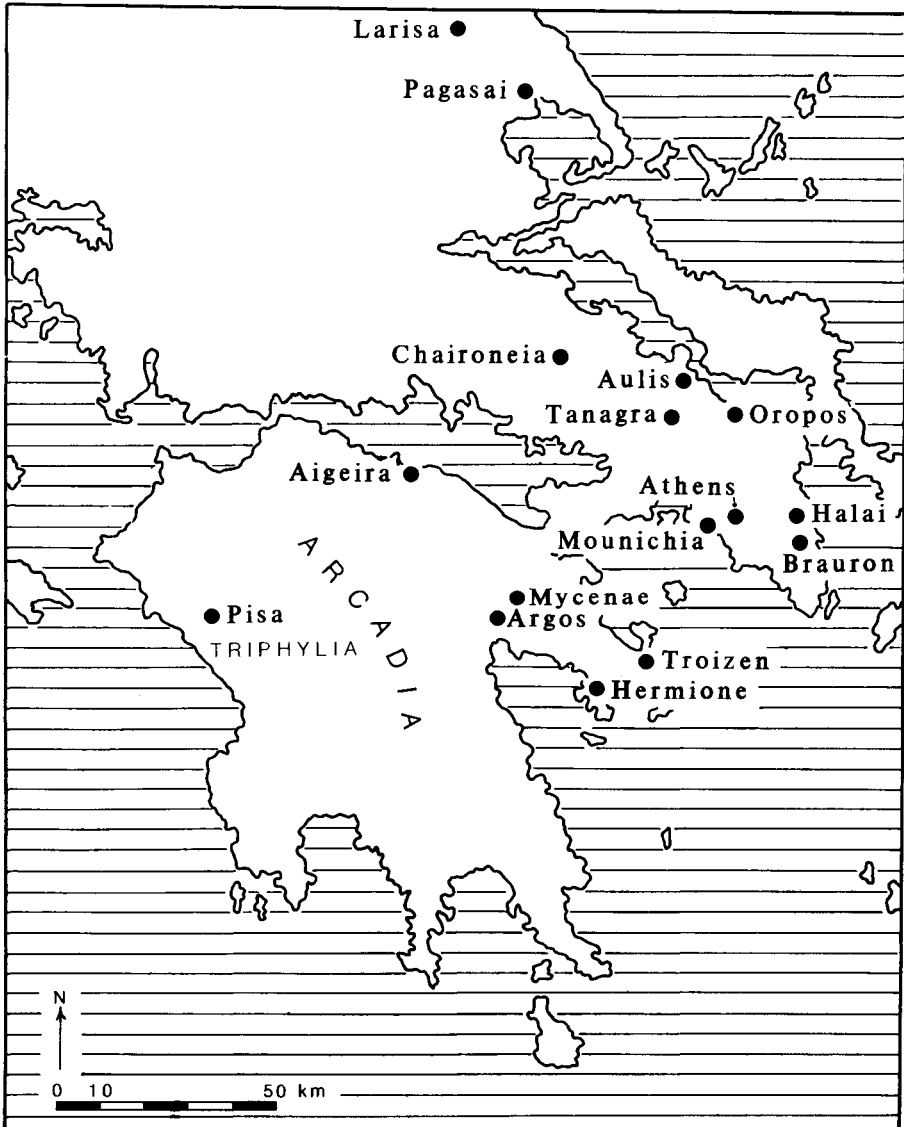
Fertility and increase are vital to the viability of agricultural society. They correspond to the rhythm of the year, whose regular but changing character and sensual contrasts are a fundamental part of human perception. So far, though, fertility is only about things, animals at most. Within the framework of fertility the human animal may be interpreted: seed-corn may be associated with the propagation of fine children, and marriage may be assigned to the growing season, to spring. But when all is said, fertility consigns religion to the control of things, and tipples on the brink of magic in consequence. Initiation, on the other hand, is about people, values, identities (cf. ch. 9.1); and its myths are about young persons who suffered. Indeed, much of

ORIGINS OF A MYTHOLOGY

what we value about Greek mythology derives, on the view presented in this book, from the personal character with which initiation has imbued it. Initiation is after all the most personal form of religion available before society changes and calls into existence religions of salvation for urban and deracinated souls, though frequently on a pattern learnt from our earlier initiations.

The interface between fertility and initiation is one of explosive power. Here, we shall see, in the blackness of night, in special, cyclical springs a greater power than that of the individual year of fertility is summoned: a new creation takes place, and initiates perform a transition into a new adulthood; group marriage can occur and offspring can be ensured. It is a dangerous process, often attended by an angry goddess, deprived of her adoring maidens and requiring a placation equivalent to human sacrifice. But we anticipate.

DEATH AND THE MAIDEN



Map 2 Iphigeneia and Arkteia

Chapter Two

THE NORTH-EAST: IPHIGENEIA, DEER, AND BEARS

1 IPHIGENEIA AT AULIS: THE STORY

Diese Sage wurzelt ganz im Kult der Artemis.

(ROBERT 1095)

1.1 Starting Point

We have seen in chapter 1 how a story of Iphigeneia could emerge as the myth accompanying passage rites performed in the cult of Artemis. But when we meet the story, it has long escaped its cultic confines and become a powerful narrative within a repertoire of traditional stories shared by the writers of antiquity. Aeschylus, for instance, employs the tale sensationally in his *Agamemnon* of 457 BC to call down pollution upon the head of Agamemnon and the whole House of Atreus. Or there is Lucretius, who 400 years later finds in the sacrifice of a daughter a potent example of the crimes committed in the name of religion (and displays his learning by altering the heroine's name to Iphianassa to match a name in Homer). And Apollodoros, a first-century AD compiler, assigns it a place in his compendium of myth. Given this range of approaches, where can we begin?¹

In the absence of the original, cult version of our myths, we need (like textual critics) to use their descendants to reconstruct them as far as we can. The oldest surviving versions often deserve most respect, though they are still far removed from the time of original composition of the myth. In the case of Iphigeneia, our principal authority is the *Kypria* of Stasinus (if that was his

name), an epic of maybe the late seventh century BC. This century will become a familiar one in this book. It is not just that this is a time of explosive growth for literature; rather, the seventh-century writers of hexameter poems often shared the characteristic of assembling and recording traditions – including our stories. A series of epics, the Cyclic Epics, told the whole saga of the Greek expedition against Troy; and genealogy was used to unite the legends of most of Greece, a process highly developed by the time of ‘Hesiod’s’ *Catalogue of Women*, whose fragmentary remains will repeatedly repay our scrutiny.

But late authorities are not without their value. In particular, Apollodoros, even though he was writing after Christ, is not likely to introduce new ‘corruptions’ of his own, because his purpose is simply to assemble and record the mythology; and inasmuch as he works on the basis of earlier authorities who had a similar purpose he can be very much more useful to us than, say, the tragedians, whose advanced interpretations and re-workings of Greek myth tell against the accurate preservation of traditional myth in all its detail.

1.2 *Statements and silences*

Only a paraphrase remains of how Stasinos told the Iphigeneia story. Immediately before it came a tale of a first expedition of the Greeks against Troy, which failed because they landed by error in Teuthrania and sacked it in the false belief that it was Troy (a story originally independent of the Trojan expedition – and indeed parallel to it). Now the expedition assembles at Aulis for the second time, and

Agamemnon, out hunting, shot a deer and asserted that he had outdone even Artemis. The goddess was angered and sent storms to prevent them from sailing. And when Kalchas declared the anger of the goddess and said that Iphigeneia should be sacrificed to Artemis, they sent for her on the pretext that she was to be married to Achilles and attempted to sacrifice her. But Artemis snatched her away and took her to the Tauroi, making her immortal; and she set a deer at the altar in place of the girl.

(Proclus’ summary of Stasinos’ *Kypria*)

The story was also recounted in the Hesiodic *Catalogue* but in a way which appears too idiosyncratic to trust: the daughters of Agamemnon and Klytaimnestra have become Elektra and Iphimede and it is the latter that the Greeks sacrifice. But, the author adds, it was not actually Iphimede that was slaughtered, it was an 'image' (*eidōlon*); she herself was made immortal by Artemis so that she might become 'Roadside Artemis' (*Artemis Einodia*), who was apparently well known in cult and whom the poet earnestly assures us is an attendant of Artemis proper. To state that Iphimede 'became' Roadside Artemis is to tidy up the divine world, an act of theology rather than of recording tradition. Ps.Hesiod's creativity drives us to use Stasinos as our primary witness, just as the tragedians can drive us into the arms of Apollodorus. And this will be justified in the end because Stasinos delivers a myth of a type and significance which we will find elsewhere in the cult of Artemis too.²

Homer might be thought to have priority over Stasinos and it would then worry us that he neither mentions Iphigeneia nor refers in any overt, indisputable way to her story. The scholiast pronounces: 'Homer does not know the sacrifice of Iphigeneia found in later authors' – a view for which the evidence seems compelling enough. Homer's Odysseus recalls an interpretation by Kalchas at the shrine at Aulis and a Greek sacrifice there, oblivious of Iphigeneia; and his Agamemnon offers Achilles a choice of three of his daughters – hard if he has already sacrificed one! Is the sacrifice of Iphigeneia just a garish invention of Stasinos, and does it not reach back to cult at all?

Even if Homer does not know the story, invention is unlikely, given the structure of the story, the parallels which are available (as we shall see), and the interpretation which it requires. So we may be attracted by the view Jouan attributes to modern criticism generally, that cult supplied Stasinos with the story – which would suffice for our purposes. However, the pleasing notion that Stasinos took down the story directly at the precinct of Aulis clashes with a view now gaining strength that the Cyclic poet was every bit as much an inheritor of traditional stories as Homer. The Iphigeneia story is surely an originally independent story in the same way as the previous episode in Stasinos, the Greek invasion of Teuthrania, equally unknown to Homer.³

Yet I think Homer knew the story of Iphigeneia. Scholiasts, as

Kretschmer once observed, too readily assume that what Homer does not mention he does not know. Indeed, Homer's 'ignorance' is almost their favourite topic: he 'does not know' the education of Achilles by Cheiron, he 'does not know' the Judgement of Paris, he 'does not know' Cassandra as a prophetess. There is a problem of what Homer *chooses* to know, what he rejects, and what he takes as read. For instance, when Agamemnon (in the same passage in which he offers Achilles one of his daughters) mentions his son Orestes as living at home 'in the lap of luxury', Homer must allude with grim irony to Agamemnon's far from ideal domestic circumstances, though a 'does not know' sentence would come easily to the pen. Homer's Odysseus, in his reference to Aulis in *Iliad* 2, may have rhetorical motives for steering around the audience's knowledge of the sacrifice of Iphigeneia; similarly, Agamemnon's offer to Achilles may even evoke events at Aulis, subliminally devaluing the gift. Besides, Agamemnon alludes to some earlier conflict with Kalchas:

Prophet of ill, never have you spoken what is good for me;
the prophecy of ill tidings is perpetually close to your heart;
never have you spoken any decent word nor brought it about.†

This might indeed be only an angry reaction to a challenge to authority, but the words sound more specific – a characteristic Homeric allusion to the grim sacrifice of Iphigeneia.⁴

So Stasinos' story appears not to be a baroque invention of the late epic, but a traditional story, available to be revised by 'Hesiod', and maybe even known to Homer.

1.3 *Review of motifs*

In this section I shall argue that the Aulis myth may originally have comprised the following motifs:

- 1 A man, conceivably the temple-founder . . .
- 2 . . . shoots a deer and thereby angers Artemis.
- 3 She sends tribulation (plague or famine?).
- 4 A prophet (Kalchas?) pronounces that the man must sacrifice his daughter to Artemis.

† The sources of unattributed quotations are given in the endnotes.

- 5 The girl, Iphigeneia, is brought, supposedly to be married to Achilles.
- 6 But as she is about to be sacrificed, Artemis substitutes a deer for her.

1.3.1 Achilles and Agamemnon: intruders?

No motif looks more suspect than that of the proposed marriage to Achilles. Achilles, we will think, is so famous a figure of panhellenic legend that he surely entered the Iphigeneia story after it became part of the Trojan cycle. The 'Cyclic Poets' are generally thought to operate more freely than Homer, and to draw on and fill out his stories. Stasinos, for instance, mentions a daughter of Agamemnon called Iphianassa, drawing her name, Wilamowitz observed, from Agamemnon's offer to Achilles in *Iliad* 9. And it is then only a small step to Kjellberg's claim that the whole idea of marrying a daughter of Agamemnon to Achilles is derived from the same episode. The very idea of a marriage between Iphigeneia and Achilles (impressive enough for some later authors to make Neoptolemos the son of Iphigeneia!) perhaps suits the tastes of a later, freer epic: after all, in his *Telegony* (early sixth century) Eugammon of Kyrene married off Telemachos to Circe. Who, then, can disagree with Jouan, that the marriage with Achilles 'seems to have been thought up by Stasinos' for the *Kypria*?⁵

Yet other myths we will be considering will show that girls die specifically when ready for marriage. And surprisingly the geographical distribution of Achilles would support his appearance in the myth of Aulis from the beginning. That is an interesting inquiry, but a long one, which I reserve for the next chapter.

Agamemnon, however, may indeed be an intruder. The original, local myth, in times before the Trojan cycle was composed, would require an Agamemnon as solidly Aulidian and unimported as Iphigeneia. It is true that our only immediate evidence for Iphigeneia at Aulis is the myth, a source which might seem equally good for Agamemnon. But Iphigeneia's presence at Aulis is part of a plausible distribution pattern which Agamemnon cannot rival, reaching via Brauron and Megara to Hermione [ch. 2.2.1].

Where do we find Agamemnon? Indeed he is said to have

founded the temple of Artemis at Aulis, but only by Dionysios son of Kalliphon, writer of a wretched verse description of Greece around the turn of the eras, whose access to genuine local tradition one may doubt. Equally doubtful is *Shaft*, an extraordinarily revered wooden relic which the inhabitants of Chaironeia alleged was the very sceptre of Agamemnon famous from the *Iliad*! Agamemnon, a rather shadowy figure (not even very popular in art), looks fixed to the Peloponnese by his kingship at Mycenae (later, Argos). His ancestor Pelops, if unclearly, has the same effect: Pelops must be the eponym of a lost folk, the *Pelopes, maybe widespread at one time in the Peloponnese, even if apparently more connected with Pisa and Triphylia than with Mycenae (though who is to say that the *Pelopes had not once been at Mycenae, or that Agamemnon had always been a descendant of Pelops?). Cult delivers little useful, though most of that is in the Peloponnese: a grave at Mycenae, if one can be convinced of its antiquity, the extraordinary cult of Zeus Agamemnon in the Lapersai district of Sparta, a tomb of Agamemnon at Amyklai next to a shrine of Alexandra (*of course* meaning *Kassandra*) – though there is a little cluster of phenomena associating Agamemnon with Klazomenai, Pygela, Ephesos, and Kyme.⁶

So in central Greece we draw a blank. It is true that it could be filled if we traced the Asia Minor cluster back to Boiotia (a nerve centre of early colonization, as we shall see) and if we think of the migrations of pre-Dorian tribes to areas in the Peloponnese where we find Agamemnon worshipped. But it is perhaps more likely that he has replaced a local figure when the Aulidian myth was merged into the tale of Troy. The same role can be acted by different characters according to locality: we will see Proitos and Alkathoös as fathers for Iphinoë; we will see Embaros as father for the Iphigeneia equivalent at Mounichia; Helen can be seized by Theseus in an Athenian story, by Enarsphoros in a Spartan one and by Paris in the panhellenic version.⁷ Constant functions, then, but variable names.

In the original myth of Aulis a man, maybe the temple-founder like Dionysios' Agamemnon, summons his daughter to be married (conceivably to Achilles) but instead sets about sacrificing her to Artemis. Why?

1.3.2 The Evil in Killing Deer

Here the story-line founders: it was clearer that Iphigeneia *had* to be sacrificed than why. In Stasinos Agamemnon is hunting and shoots a deer. Then he boasts: he had outdone Artemis. 'Boast' allows 'wrath of the goddess' (a vital motif in this type of story) and usefully adds 'guilt' to the normally innocent activity of killing a deer. But the rhythm of the story implies a quite different emphasis: the 'killing' of Iphigeneia and the final substitution of a deer are the corollary of the initial killing of the deer. That is the essential point, not the boast itself.

In the poets reasons multiply. Apollodoros, following an epic *Alkmeonis* or maybe even Stasinos himself, adds a second reason for Artemis' displeasure: Agamemnon's father Atreus had vowed to sacrifice to Artemis the most beautiful animal born in his flocks, but when it turned out to be a golden ram reneged on his vow. Sophocles (*Electra*) helps the story out by setting the hunt in a sacred grove of Artemis and, though stressing the boast, confirms our impression that the animal was sacred (a point fundamental, as we shall see, to the Mounichian bear story). Euripides, on the other hand, in the *Iphigeneia amongst the Tauroi* disposes of the deer altogether: Agamemnon had vowed to sacrifice to the goddess the year's most beautiful offspring – and it turned out to be Iphigeneia. A pleasing motif is thereby created (the Jephtha or Idomeneus motif) by remodelling the story of Atreus. Aeschylus has a different account again, modelled on the portent of *Iliad* 2, for which he has his own special, symbolic reasons, which in their own way focus the guilt on Agamemnon.⁸

In fact Iphigeneia must die because a deer was killed. From the point of view of realism it is a difficult and unsatisfactory logic. Hence attempts to provide supplementary or replacement reasons. The dangerous boast is a familiar motif (Robert thinks of the hunter Orion)⁹ but it shifts the centre of attention from Iphigeneia to Agamemnon. Shifts of focus are revealing signs of corruption, which we will see again. Here we should be warned by the story of the daughters of Proitos, where it is the daughters who boast. If there had been a boast in the original story of Aulis, it would not have been Agamemnon's.

1.3.3 Revelation: Kalchas

The goddess Artemis is angry at the death of the deer. In our surviving (literary) tradition she sends storm winds which keep the Greek fleet at Aulis unable to sail for Troy.¹⁰ The expression of the goddess' wrath is appropriate to a story about the Trojan expedition, but not to our cult myth. Instead, some customary disaster must have befallen the community of Aulis – a plague, perhaps, or a famine.

An authority on things divine is consulted, Kalchas in our versions. He is another who seems too deeply implicated in the Trojan saga to have a genuine part in an independent Aulidian myth. His identity consists in feats: he predicts from the portent at Aulis when Troy will fall, and pronounces that Troy cannot be taken without Achilles – or, at a later stage in the saga, without the bow of Herakles (unless that was Helenos' prophecy). Quintus of Smyrna even has him set in train the plans that lead to the building of the Wooden Horse.¹¹ Yet most of these feats are dispensable: all that is needed is 'a prophet' and the Trojan saga looks to have taken a famous one on board. Where did the poets find him?

He was famous enough for his competition with a rival seer, Mopsos, to have figured in the sixth-century BC *Melampodia*, though it is evidently a matter of personal judgement whether to attribute that fame to his participation in the Trojan cycle. His roots are unclear: an inscription from Perge in Pamphylia claims him as an Argive (the region was settled by Greeks from the Argolid in Mycenaean times) and the competition with Mopsos seems to belong to Pamphylia or thereabout – as does his death (so was his tomb there?). Another tradition makes him an inhabitant of Megara but the apparent support for this tradition – that Chalcedon, a colony of Megara, has for its eponymous founder one Chalcedon the son of Kalchas – recoils: the alternative spelling of the town, *Kalchedon*, is surely the source of Kalchas the Megarian.¹²

His major feat, the interpretation of the portent at Aulis, connected though it is with the Trojan War, might just be occasioned by an Aulidian Kalchas, and then it would be through his prowess at Aulis that he found his entry to the Trojan cycle. His competitor Mopsos, after all, is said by relatively early

authorities to be a (Thessalian) Lapith and seer for the (Minyan) Argonauts,¹³ which puts him amongst the racial stock that will help us validate Achilles and Leukippos for Tanagra and Aulis in our next chapter. But it is only with difficulty that Kalchas can retain a place in the original myth.

1.3.4 Substitution or slaughter?

When Agamemnon comes to sacrifice Iphigeneia, Artemis substitutes a deer. This is the original version, related by the *Kypria* and followed by Euripides. Other versions have their explanations: for instance, the substitution of a ghost or image in the Hesiodic *Catalogue* – because, as Henrichs has seen, a simulacrum serves the purposes of a poet better than the deer required by the cult myth (how otherwise did the bystanders fail to realize that Iphigeneia had gone?). Or, in the Hellenistic period, animals other than deer are substituted. Nicander presents a bull (*tauros*) to form an etymological link with the *Tauroi* whom Iphigeneia is taken to live amongst and with Artemis *Tauropolos* whose first priestess she is to be, in what seems from Euripides to be the cult legend not of Aulis but of Halai in Attica. In Phanodemos (the Athenian local historian) and Euphorion a bear is substituted for Iphigeneia, to fit the relocation of the Aulis story at Brauron and to explain the Brauronian bear ritual, the *Arkteia*.¹⁴

Most startling of all is Solmsen's evolutionist supposition that the original version was likely to have been more savage and to have permitted no substitution for the grim sacrifice. We shall return to this favourite connection of human sacrifice with primitive times [ch. 2.4.2]; for now let us simply observe that the evidence for such a version is questionable. Aeschylus, for his own black poetic purposes, chooses to give that impression, but even he has those present look away at the moment of sacrifice – a motif which Nicander later uses to facilitate the substitution; and Pindar probably draws on Aeschylus.¹⁵

1.3.5 Is there Life after sacrifice?

With the substitution the original cult myth surely ended. The question of where a person intended for sacrifice but replaced by a deer is now to be found thankfully never arises. But poets have uses for a spirited-away Iphigeneia. Stasinos whisks her away to

live amongst the Tauroi, a Scythian tribe inhabiting the Tauric Chersonese at the north of the Black Sea. It is a neat idea, as the Tauroi are said to have been fond of human sacrifices to a grim maiden goddess (on which more below) and their name can so conveniently supply an explanation of Artemis' cult epithet *Tauropolos* (which in fact derives from an ancient connection with 'bulls' – *tauroi*). Once amongst the Tauroi, Apollodoros tells us (from Stasinos?), Iphigeneia becomes a priestess, maybe the first, of Artemis. Later still she will become, in Euripides, a priestess, maybe the first, at Brauron; nearby Halai might have been preferable, where there is a known cult of Artemis Tauropolos, but she may have been known by this title at Brauron too.¹⁶

For good measure, Stasinos also has Artemis make Iphigeneia 'immortal' – after all, what else happens to a person whose death is prevented and who is spirited away? This is the motif on which Hesiod capitalizes when he reinterprets her as Roadside Artemis, a figure identified early with Hekate.¹⁷ How appropriate that a near-sacrificed maiden should become a deathly and uncanny goddess of witches: who become *revenants*, if not those who meet unhappy deaths?

A more romantic finale is provided by Nicander. Iphigeneia at last gets her man: she is married to Achilles on the 'White Island' (*Leuke*). Now an immortal daimon, she is called 'Orsiloechia', a name which has been thought to be connected with *Loch(e)ia*, a title of Artemis referring to the latter's role in childbirth. In fact the answer lies in the fourth-century AD historian Ammianus, who tells us that the Tauroi used (in the past) to conduct human sacrifices 'to Diana [i.e. Artemis] who is called Orsiloechia amongst them'. This then complements a passage of Herodotos where, nearly a millennium before Ammianus, the sacrifices are alarmingly in the present tense and are conducted not to Artemis but to *The Maiden*, who 'the Tauroi themselves [!] say is Iphigeneia, the daughter of Agamemnon'. The relationship of these two accounts to each other is no longer recoverable, but the general picture of myth, legend, and geography is tolerably clear. Iphigeneia, legendary priestess of Artemis Tauropolos in Attica, after her *Scheintod* at Aulis, is driven by etymology to join the Tauroi. There, depending on which account you read, she is either the priestess of Artemis, who is then identified with the

actual local divinity of the actual Tauroi; or, a maiden who is sacrificed, she is herself identified with The Maiden who demands human sacrifice (as one might expect, only of strangers, but here, with superb discrimination, only of *Greeks* – those responsible for Iphigeneia's death). The local divinity's name, not known to Herodotos, sounds something like Orsiloche; and that, or Orsilocheia (to scan - - - - like Iphigeneia), must be Iphigeneia's new identity. Nearby, still in the land of the Tauroi, lies an island identified with the fabulous White Island, domain of Achilles, and even dedicated to him. As Lord of the White Island and maybe in local belief, as Hommel suggests, Lord of the Dead, he has a consort whom we may regard as variously realized from amongst the figures of Greek legend – Helen, Medeia, or (why not – she has become his neighbour) Iphigeneia–Orsiloche.¹⁸

So these stories of Iphigeneia after the sacrifice and substitution, though fascinating for the history of the elaboration of mythology, tell us no more about the Aulis cult-myth. At sacrifice, the need for her old identity ceases. Heroes and heroines are made to die young.

2 BEYOND IPHIGENEIA, BEYOND AULIS

Now we have some idea of the shape of the Aulis cult-myth, it might seem that we could advance into the detection of how its motifs once related to ritual and what they meant for prehistoric inhabitants of Aulis. But that will come later, because Aulis is not the only home either for Iphigeneia or for her type of story. Our interpretation will be needlessly incomplete if we take too narrow a view; for there are surprising and, to many students of ancient literature, unfamiliar sister-myths to be revealed.

2.1 *Iphigeneia elsewhere*

Iphigeneia has a curious, but limited distribution. As we have seen, her shrine (*heroön* i.e. tomb) can be found in **Megara** next to the temple of Artemis which was allegedly made by Agamemnon. Together with this goes the doubtful claim that Kalchas lived in Megara (it was on the occasion of persuading him to join the Trojan expedition that Agamemnon built the temple). A story is implied and it looks close, perhaps too close,

to that of Aulis. Did the Megarians claim, as Jacoby thought, that the Trojan expedition put out from Megara too? Yet simply to hijack the whole Aulidian legend from the Trojan cycle is too wilful: there must have been grounds for reapplying it to Megara and cult of Iphigeneia in the vicinity of the temple of Artemis would supply them. A tale of her death – ‘that she died in Megara’ – would then be the kernel of the Megarian claim. A dying maiden is no rarity; and transference of the Aulis story on the basis of a cult practice is something which we shall see again at Brauron.

Other sites are scattered around the northern Peloponnese. The **Arcadians** had another tale to tell Pausanias about Iphigeneia – why should they have a local version, on what basis? 50 miles west of Megara along the northern coast of the Peloponnese in **Aigeira** is found a temple of Artemis with an ancient statue, of ‘Iphigeneia the daughter of Agamemnon as the Aigeiratai say’, adds an unconvinced Pausanias, grumbling that if that was so the temple must originally have been made for Iphigeneia. Whereas 50 miles south-east of Megara, at **Hermione**, lay a sanctuary of ‘Artemis with the title Iphigeneia’. And Helen is supposed to have given birth to Iphigeneia in the precinct of Eileithyia at **Argos**, according to a deviant myth evidently preserving the location of a cult of Iphigeneia or Eileithyia Iphigeneia.¹⁹ It is difficult to know how deep the roots of these local traditions reach, but the narrow area in which they are found tells against the assumption that this is commonplace adoption of panhellenic mythology. Iphigeneia does not turn up at Sparta or Ephesos.

2.2 *Myths from Attica*

Iphigeneia has no known direct connection with either cult or myth at Mounichia, a hill with a temple of Artemis overlooking Peiraeus, the port of Athens. But its myth is remarkably similar to that of Aulis. All versions of the Mounichia myth, with one unimportant exception, go back to an explanation of a proverb which was written by or before one Pausanias, a lexicologist of the second century AD.²⁰ The source is valuable in that it embodies traditional material, but limited because, despite all the authors who follow it, it still is only one source, uninterested in

expounding the whole cult-myth, intent only on enough to explain the proverb. The proverb in question is: 'I am an Embaros'. An Embaros is explained as being a clever person, but the proverb is only applied – whether ironically or in the negative – to idiots. The scene of the story is set at the shrine of Artemis Mounichia, a shrine founded, we are told to no one's surprise, by Mounichos. The explanation proceeds as follows:

A she-bear appeared in the shrine and was killed by the Athenians; as a result there was a famine. The god gave an oracle that they would gain relief from it if someone sacrificed their daughter to the goddess. Embaros alone agreed to, on condition that his clan held the priesthood for life. He dressed his daughter, but hid her in the restricted part [*adyton*] of the temple and, dressing a goat in clothes, sacrificed it as though it were his daughter.²¹

(*Souda* s.v. *Embaros eimi*, slightly corrected)

Whereupon the story abruptly ends.

Meanwhile, on the other side of Attica, at Brauron we find a myth not very different from that of Mounichia, again known ultimately from a single source, in this case a note explaining a line in Aristophanes with the words 'I was a Bear at the Brauronia.' The fullest sequence of motifs is found in an entry in the *Souda*:

Women doing the Bear ritual used to perform the festival for Artemis, dressed in the *krokōtos*, aged between 5 and 10, placating the goddess. For there was a wild bear about in the deme Philaidai [where Brauron was] and it was tamed and lived with men [another source tells us: 'it was given to the shrine of Artemis']. But a girl poked fun at it, with her lack of restraint upset it, and it scratched her. This angered her brothers and they shot the bear, as a result of which a plague befell the Athenians. The Athenians consulted an oracle and it said their ills would end if, as a penalty for killing the bear, they made their maidens do the Bear ritual. And the Athenians voted that no girl should be married to a man without performing the Bear ritual to the goddess.

(*Souda* s.v. *Arktos e Brauroniois*²²)

How great is the difference between the two Attic myths? The earlier parts of the two myths nearly coincide: there is a bear at Mounichia/Brauron (Brauron adds: it is tamed and given to the sanctuary); it injures a girl or is just a public nuisance, and is killed; there is a famine or plague, a *limos* or *loimos* (a celebrated passage of Thucydides teaches us how little the Athenians could distinguish between the two). The oracle is consulted. It is really only now that the accounts diverge: the oracle of the proverb story gives Embaros scope to be proverbially clever; the oracle of the note explaining the *Arkteia*, the Bear ritual, demands the establishment of the *Arkteia*. Is the difference between the stories simply a question of the difference in purpose between our two sole sources? As Brelich asks, 'are they variants of a single tradition or not?'²³

We can devise a test for this by asking what must be missing from our sources: is it likely (a) that Brauron had a myth of a man sacrificing his daughter; and (b) that Mounichia had a myth explaining the institution of the *Arkteia*? At Brauron there was a tomb of Iphigeneia; she is a priestess, maybe as Jeanmaire and Pfister believed, the first priestess of Artemis there. Because of this tomb of Iphigeneia, the Aulidian/panhellenic story of Agamemnon's sacrifice of Iphigeneia for the Trojan expedition was re-sited here, for instance in Phanodemos, though there are traces of it as early as Aeschylus, in whose *Agamemnon* Iphigeneia appears to shed the distinctively Brauronian *krokōtos*.²⁴ The re-siting would make much more sense if there had indeed been a local myth of a man sacrificing his daughter, with a substitution being made, and even more so if that daughter's name were Iphigeneia. So maybe in comparison with the Mounichian myth of Embaros, his daughter and his substitution of the goat, the Brauronian myth is defective as reported to us in our single authority.

At Mounichia, there was clearly enough an *Arkteia*: the presence of the bear in the myth is the best evidence for that. But there was no need for an oracle overtly demanding the *Arkteia* within the myth itself. The myth after all already includes the bear, the substitute sacrifice, the dressing up and the hiding away (as Brelich shows) of a girl. If the myth went on to include an oracle referring to the *Arkteia*, it would be superfluous, indeed it would be a sort of category mistake: after the myth is over we

may add ‘and so today we have the *Arkteia*’, but to add the oracle demanding the institution smacks of a time when the themes of myth were no longer understood and something more palpable was needed.²⁵ This change in the conditions of reception must explain the failure in the fixity of the Brauronian myth [ch. 1.2]. But as a bonus, when the inclusion of an oracle demanding the institution of the *Arkteia* drives out the original motif of daughter-sacrifice, the tale of a man sacrificing his daughter is freed from its parochial context so that it may be represented as the panhellenic Agamemnon myth.

A final detail: in the Brauronian Agamemnon story, a bear is substituted for Iphigeneia, not a deer – and not a goat either. Was it a bear in the original daughter-sacrifice story at Brauron? In the absence of direct evidence, it depends on which model we apply. If a Mounichian model is applied, then we will obviously get a Mounichian goat for an answer. If the Aulidian model is applied, then the answer becomes symmetrical: a deer shot leads to a deer substituted; a bear shot leads to a bear substituted. Given that myth exaggerates [ch. 2.4.2] and that a bearskin has been found in an eleventh-century BC burial of a 17-year-old girl and 18-year-old boy at Athens, a bear seems entirely possible in the Brauronian myth. But I fear all the same that it is the result of the application of the Aulidian model at the same time as the borrowing of the Trojan story. Bear-sacrifice is a pleasingly baroque notion – and goats were in fact the sacrifice at Brauron, just as the myth tells us they were at Mounichia.

So the same myth, substantially the Mounichian, was originally told both at Mounichia and at Brauron.²⁶ There is room only for a few differences of detail. The taming of the bear may be uniquely Brauronian. Embaros the (first?) priest of Mounichia will figure only at Mounichia. Iphigeneia the (first?) priestess of Brauron may only have figured in the lost part of the Brauronian myth. That is all.

2.3 *Aulis and Attica*

Before we finally move into cults and meanings, we can register the extraordinary comparability of the story of Iphigeneia at Aulis with the Brauron/Mounichia myth. The death of an animal, for whatever reason, angers Artemis. Prophet or oracle reveals

that a daughter must be sacrificed. But in the end an animal is substituted for the girl. At Aulis and maybe at Brauron too the girl is Iphigeneia. The Aulis story looks neat: not only is it framed by a deer killed and a deer substituted; there is also the fact that 'Agamemnon' must sacrifice *his* daughter because (if we are to believe it) *he* shot the deer. The Brauron/Mounichia story instead supplies brothers and sister in the bear scene, but father and daughter (a different girl?) in the sacrifice scene. And the motif of marriage within the myth is exclusive to Aulis.

Sale explains these similarities as borrowing: Aulis from Brauron from Mounichia, or *vice versa*. But there are other relations within this family of myths which are too distantly located to allow the hypothesis of borrowing. Kallisto, a maiden who turns bear under the auspices of Artemis, belongs to southern Arcadia [ch. 8.5]; and so does Atalante, exposed by her father (= sacrifice by father) and suckled by a bear. In addition, masquerading as part of the history of the First Messenian War, around 700 BC, there is a story of how a population (the Messenians) is afflicted by war and plague, and of how an oracle demands the sacrifice of a maiden from a particular clan – to be given freely. In this story the role of Embaros is played by Aristodemos, who subsequently becomes king: he freely offers his daughter and slaughters her in the presence of her prospective husband (a framework that is clear despite some romancing).²⁷ We are dealing with the last remnants of a tradition, gradually differentiating as populations scatter across Greece. The tradition itself stretches far back, through Greek history into proto-Greek history and beyond that to Indo-European times.

3 THE CULTS

The evidence for Greek religious practice is always defective. Our knowledge of girls' passage rites is tenuous, even at Brauron (better known than most). So we cannot afford to indulge our sense of purism by setting aside the usable evidence of mythology: methodically interpreted, it goes some way to supply what more direct evidence cannot, and there is more sense than arbitrariness in proceeding from myths accompanied by rituals to comparable myths for which we must hypothesize the ritual.²⁸

3.1 *The cult of Artemis at Aulis: a literary fiction?*

What can archaeology reveal about the religion of Artemis at Aulis? Remains of a temple can be dated to the fifth century BC; under the *pronaos* of that temple are remains of an eighth-century round building which may have been used for the cult before the fifth-century temple; close to the site are the remains of a Mycenaean settlement. So ‘there may have been’, as Schachter says, ‘continuous cult activity from the prehistoric period on’. But he raises another possibility too. The shrine described by Pausanias in the second century AD is suspiciously faithful to the Aulis depicted by Homer – complete with spring and plane tree – and there are twin cult images too, which ‘reflect the Artemis/Hekate grouping of the Hesiodic *Catalogue*’. Is the whole shrine created in the image of the epic? Was there in fact no cult at Aulis before the fifth-century temple?

This is too sceptical. Homer’s spring, holy altars and plane tree add up iconographically to a shrine (long before the fifth century BC): for Kahil, discussing materials relating to the *Arkteia*, altar and palm tree identify a place as a sanctuary; and for Sourvinou-Inwood that combination in vase-painting specifically denotes a shrine of Artemis. The silence of the archaeological record before the eighth century would be explained if, as the elder Pliny guessed, the earliest temple at Aulis (before the Trojan War, naturally) was built of *wood*. Before the age of the stone temple many must have been built of wood, leaving few archaeological traces, particularly if the site has been re-used. And precincts are under no obligation to include a temple.²⁹

3.2 *Brauron and the Arkteia*

3.2.1 Site and festival

There is no doubt of the cult at Brauron. Excavations have revealed not only the temple of Artemis itself (around 500 BC), but also a stoa with dining-rooms and a small classical temple beside what seems to be a collapsed cave, identified as the tomb of Iphigeneia. An inscription names a *Parthenon* (‘building/room of the maiden(s)/Maiden’) which was initially identified with the stoa, on the supposition that the maidens stayed there when they

came for the rites. But the more popular view now is that it was the name for the *adyton* ('no-entry', i.e. the innermost room) of the temple, though it is unclear why the inscription should list one room of the temple separately.³⁰ Was it perhaps the small classical temple by the tomb of the virgin Iphigeneia?

Regrettably, no other Brauronian inscription has been published, and we are left to depend mainly on *krateriskoi* and on the literary evidence. *Krateriskoi*, which we shall discuss below [ch. 2.3.2.2], are small bowls found at Brauron and elsewhere in Attica which sometimes depict scenes from the girls' rites. In the literature we find a cult of Artemis *Brauronia* whose principal festival was the *Brauronia* – not the local terms, but terms for outsiders: Athenians have a *Brauronion* in the heart of Athens, and inhabitants of Tanagra worship Artemis 'of Aulis'. Kondis argues that the name of the goddess of Brauron was Artemis *Tauropolos*, though the evidence is not uniformly favourable. If so, *Tauropolia* would be the obvious festival name; otherwise, we might think of the *Artemisia* or even *Arkteia*.³¹ In any case, the *Brauronia* included the ritual of the Bears, which leads to our next question:

3.2.2 Who were the Bears?

Every Athenian girl was required to perform the Bear ritual before marriage – or so our late version of the myth would have us believe. But the scholiast on Aristophanes speaks of *selected* girls and Aristophanes' Lysistrata boasts proudly of having been 'a Bear at the Brauronia'. The distinction of selective performance of what in other cultures would be a general initiation rite is common in historical Greece. In the cult of Athene on the Athenian acropolis, only two girls, the *Arrhephoroi*, underwent rites which have been shown to be of an initiatory type; and something similar underlies the 'Child from the Hearth' who was initiated at public expense at the Eleusinian Mysteries. There is in fact a range, from at one extreme the initiation of a complete age-group, to at the other extreme a single individual assigned to sacred service (and labelled 'priestess'), to which we shall return when we discuss Io and the priesthood of the Argive Heraion [ch. 6.4.2]. And initiation appears often to have been an aristocratic

privilege in the Greek world, just as in the *Iliad* we find that the function of the masses is to 'fall', whereas it is for aristocrats to be the memorable warriors that, after all, boys' initiation creates.³²

Brelich attempted the view that in historical times all Athenian girls were initiated. But rough calculations seem to rule it out: girls of the age of say, 10, would number around 1 for every 100 of population. Thus if the festival were held annually and all girls attended once in their girlhood, then for every 10,000 of population there would be 100 participants. But the festival took place only every fourth year and so there would be 400 participants for every 10,000; so any adequate estimate of the population of Attica would supply a gross number of participants, maybe more than 4,000. Brelich tries two ways out. First, perhaps the segregation took place in turns, in succession during the year: but this fails because of the connection with the festival (a connection which Goldstein, it is true, has denied): it cannot happen many times a year but only once every four years. Or, secondly, perhaps the *Arkteia* need not take place at Brauron but could take place at Mounichia or the Athens branch, the Brauronion. This is altogether a more promising approach and can be supplemented from the work of Kahil on the *krateriskoi* (a term she herself invented). These small bowls associated with girls' initiation rites, are found at almost all Artemis shrines in Attica (Brauron, Halai, Mounichia, the Brauronion on the Athenian acropolis, the temple of Artemis Aristoboule near the Athenian agora). Their quality rarely, if ever, rises above mediocre and they cannot have cost much. On this basis Simon claims that in the fifth century the whole populace took part in the *Arkteia* at various different sanctuaries.³³

But there would still be too many participants per shrine, even if initiations were held yearly at some centres. The scholiast's reference to 'select' maidens can scarcely refer to later times. Who, too, could believe that Lysistrata's line, 'I was a Bear at the Brauronia', means only that Brauron is a superior place to do the Bear ritual which all girls do – so that Top Girls make a point of joining the Brauronian *hai pollai* (who dedicate the shoddy *krateriskoi* at Brauron) rather than their own! In fact the cheap *krateriskoi* (Kahil has not claimed that *any* are great works of art) left in the shrine of Artemis conjure up in our minds not the

‘selected maidens’, but those non-selected maidens who were not, and maybe could not afford to be, Bears themselves. Goats for sacrifice do not come cheap and dowries make daughters expensive enough anyway. But they might wish all the same, out of piety, to be associated with the Bears. They would pour a libation at the altar of Artemis from a cheap pot; it was locally made and locally bought and often depicted Bears; they would then ceremonially break it or otherwise dedicate it. That for them was their entrance to adulthood: they had discharged their obligation to Artemis. Every girl in Attica could do this if she was not to be a Bear herself.

Selectivity seems guaranteed for historical times and, as we shall see again [ch. 6.4.2, ch. 9.6], may be a genuinely ancient feature of initiations. But before integration into the Athenian state, when Brauron serviced only a local community, it is clear that the argument from excessive numbers would collapse and that it would be possible for all Brauronian girls to undergo some version of the Bear-rite, even if not the full rite. This suggestion of a major and minor version of the rite, made by Burkert in the case of the *Arrhephoria*, would explain much: the privilege always built into the mythology [cf. ch. 9.6], the selectivity repeatedly found in surviving rites, the practical difficulties of ordinary families in forgoing the assistance of young hands for any extended period, but the parallel worldwide of universal initiation for the age class. Some sort of universal involvement seems in any case implied by the description (found in fourth-century orators) of the girls performing the Bear ritual as a ‘tithe’ paid by the community to the goddess. A tithe of what? Of the age-class, and thus selective? Or of the whole community? Comparison of tithes sent to found colonies, which seem to relate to the Italian ‘Sacred Spring’ [ch. 3.5.3] where the entire age-class was cast out, points to the latter. Indeed, a four-year age-class would not be far short of 10 per cent of the community.³⁴

3.2.3 How old were the Bears?

The age for participation given by the scholiast is between 5 and 10 years old. Strangely, the passage of Aristophanes on which he is commenting presents a chronological sequence of girls’ rites in which ‘I was a Bear at the Brauronia’ follows the rite undertaken

at the age of 10, so that Aristophanes seems to envisage being a Bear at older than 10. There are various ways of treating this problem: the scholiast perhaps does not notice this implication; or maybe he had a different text of Aristophanes in front of him. Kondis supposes that an age older than 10 was permissible in the time of Aristophanes, but not later, when the scholion originated. But Kahil's *krateriskoi* confirm the information of the scholiast even for Aristophanes' own time: the girls depicted usually look 7 or 8 years old, as far as one can judge. So the problem lies in the text or interpretation of Aristophanes and no longer concerns us.³⁵

Lysistrata claims to have been both an *Arrhephoros* and a Bear and gives the impression of a series of stages through which she has passed. It is a comically extemporized *curriculum vitae* and no such series existed. Otherwise, Brelich would be right to observe a clash between the age range of the Bears (5-10 years old) and that of the *Arrhephoroi* (7-11 years old). As a result, he supposes that one or the other range had been changed in the course of time. Jeanmaire and Lloyd-Jones have challenged the age range of the Bears on other grounds – as being too low for a rite meant to introduce the participant to adulthood – a view which might seem to be supported by the claim that among the Balovale tribes of Zambia 'the normal age of circumcision in the past was higher than it is today and was usually coincident with puberty or just after . . . The novices of today are commonly about 8-10 years old and rarely over 14-15.' The change in this case is ascribed to the need to attend school and to earn money. But the truth may be simpler, if it is characteristic of modern society to overestimate the age at which these rites must be held. The clear implication of the clash between the age ranges of the Bears and the *Arrhephoroi* is that the age ranges *confirm each other*. One derives from initiation rites localized on the Athenian acropolis, the other from initiation rites localized at Brauron and held for Artemis. They are the rites of originally distinct communities held for the same age class.³⁶

Girls' initiation rites are not everywhere, or indeed usually, conducted in groups. Frequently they are for individuals and then they are often performed following the onset of menstruation. Greek medical authorities set puberty – for both boys and girls – at 14 years, though they were only enshrining the popular

DEATH AND THE MAIDEN

doctrine of change every seven years, most memorably expressed by Solon in the early sixth century BC:

an immature child, still an infant, grows his first
fence of teeth and loses them at seven years;
but when the god completes the next seven years
there appear the signs of emergent maturity . . .
(Solon fr. 27 West)

Today we can say that generally signs of puberty begin at age 10-11 (breasts developing, vaginal secretions starting) and it will not be long before the onset of menstruation. However, the age at which this happens exhibits considerable variation between individuals and, it is said, between societies. Individual initiation is immediate and therefore flexible and can cope with the view (of the Nayar on the Malabar coast of India) that it is 'dangerously polluting for a girl to menstruate before initiation'. But group initiation needs to cater for frequent exceptions by being set early. So group initiation, if intended to precede the onset of menstruation, is likely to make 10-11 a maximum (the Nayar in fact initiated between the ages of 5 and 8).

We ourselves live in a very annual culture, where schools admit children to year groups. But a restricted population, for instance, may commend two-year groups, as amongst the Gisu of Uganda, or four-year groups, as amongst the Masai of Kenya, where, every four or five years, boys of between 12 and 16 were circumcised. It was a four-year group at Brauron, as Sourvinou-Inwood and others have seen, because the Brauronia were held every fourth year. So with an upper limit of 10-11 and a four-year group, the resultant age-group is near enough the 5-10 year range, and it should not perhaps seem so odd to us that 5-year-olds undergo puberty rites – a 5-year-old could after all be betrothed. The *Arrhephoroi*, though generally thought to be appointed annually, are in fact connected with the weaving of the *peplos* for Athene at the Panathenaia, held every four years. Their ages are accordingly from 11 down to 7; and they were surely appointed only once every four years. The minimum age at which girls might be married is rarely specified. The practical minimum appears to be around 14 years old, though a law at Gortyn (Crete) specified 12, an age which recurs in inscriptions of Roman times.

Structuring society into multi-year groups can also lead to a non-annual view of chronology, as can be seen from the use of Olympiads in Greece. This leads in turn to a sense of a new era beginning rather than simply another year [ch. 9.5], a view that may explain why the cycles on the basis of which Greeks characteristically corrected their calendars by intercalation (supposedly following astronomical science) echo uncannily the typical intervals between non-annual festivals (two, four, eight years).³⁷

3.2.4 What Bears do

Bears were said, rather unspecifically, to ‘tend the shrine’ – but for how long? If one thinks in terms of service from one festival to the next, the girls would be between 9 and 14 years old at the end. Obviously, girls like Lysistrata, who had come from Athens to be Bears, would not be away from home for four years, though in an earlier era local Brauronian girls could have lived together for such a period. But in the end it is safer to admit ignorance and say what Pausanias says of the *Arrhephoroi*: ‘for a certain time they live with the goddess’, though the ending of their service was surely the Brauronian festival of Artemis.³⁸

On the *krateriskoi* we catch a glimpse of Bears in action: we see the altar of Artemis and a palm tree or trees; the trees recall the plane tree at Aulis, but the usual tree is the palm, under which Artemis herself was born at Delos. Sometimes there are girls dancing around an altar (sometimes, torch in hand, therefore at night – significantly, as we shall see at Halai). Sometimes they are running in races directed by young women, who may recently themselves have completed such rites and are yet more ‘select’, like the epopts of the Eleusinian mysteries; the race is a familiar scene in girls’ initiations in Greece, for instance at the Triphylian sanctuary of Hera at Elis, where the Sixteen Women weave a robe for Hera (like the *Arrhephoroi*) but arrange races for maidens.

The girls are sometimes dressed in short, rather ragged, tunics, sometimes nude – either like boys (with the sexual reversal of the liminal stage) or having cast aside their previous condition with their clothing. In any case the ragged tunic is not the pretty yellow *krokōtos*, their formal and striking dress corresponding to the white of the *Arrhephoroi*. On the *krateriskoi* the girls are

racing – towards the altar on one, away from a Bear on another (at least as reconstructed). On yet another, a priest, and a priestess, are masked as bears, lending credence to a lexicographer's claim that 'Bear' meant not only the animal but also *the Priestess of Artemis*. Maybe, as Cole suggests, the priestess disguised as a bear is showing the girls how to do the Bear; but we shall see [ch. 6.4.2] that a 'priestess' seems to reflect a lost status of leading initiate, of choral leader and that the Bear Priestess of Artemis is distantly echoed by the Cow Io who corresponds to the Priestess of Hera at the Argive Heraion. Many *krateriskoi* are found at the tomb of Iphigeneia also: did she too receive an offering – a libation, or a lock of hair? In any case, the final offering to Artemis was a goat (although – in something of a mismatch – the *krateriskoi* show the girls holding a mere dove or rabbit).³⁹

Beyond the *krateriskoi*, we can mention the profusion of spinning and weaving implements found at Brauron (including one child-sized), pointing to some not inappropriate training in womanly skills during the period at the shrine. The *Arrhephoroi*, after all, during their service wove a robe for Athene. Similarly the finds of ornaments and mirrors at Brauron recall the rule that all gold ornaments worn by the *Arrhephoroi* become the sacred property of Athene, though in our inquiry into girls' initiation rites we must not overlook the fact that women made offerings of things they considered valuable to Artemis on quite different occasions.⁴⁰

3.3 *Cult at Mounichia and Halai*

Elsewhere in Attica it is the finds of *krateriskoi* in almost all Artemis shrines that have led to the supposition that Brauron was not alone in offering an *Arkteia*.⁴¹ But only in the case of Mounichia and Halai can we add anything.

3.3.1 Mounichia

Mounichia is a hilly outcrop into the sea forming part of Athens' later (fifth century onwards) port, Peiraieus, and facing Athens' earlier port of Phaleron. This may make it look central to Athens' activities, but in earlier times, before Athens became a great maritime power, it may well have been more marginal. The

sanctuary of Artemis is not much mentioned, but Lysias refers to its altar and Pausanias to its temple. We are told by Harpokration that the *Arkteia* was performed for Artemis either *Brauronia* or *Mounichia* – and he obviously means that it was performed for both (not that he was not sure which!). And, surely enough, *krateriskoi* are found in the sanctuary. The *Arkteia* happened nearer Athens than Brauron.⁴²

3.3.2 Halai

10 km north of Brauron, at Halai, a temple of Artemis Tauro polos has been excavated. This is the temple that Athene instructs Orestes to found in the closing scene of Euripides' *Iphigeneia amongst the Tauroi*. And she goes on to mention a striking ceremony there:

And establish the following custom: when the folk hold a festival
to commemorate your rescue from slaughter, a sword shall
be held
at a man's throat and blood shall issue
for the holy Goddess so that she may have honour.

Whereas Iphigeneia, she continues, is to be the priestess at Brauron, where she will be buried and receive the clothes of those who die in childbirth.⁴³ Euripides gives us the impression, as Lloyd-Jones tentatively expresses it, that Halai was 'at least in the earlier stages of its history' concerned with male initiations and Brauron with female.

Yet from this selective account one would never guess that the *Arkteia* took place at Brauron and one cannot place any trust in the completeness of the picture, however equitable the resulting distribution of rites between sanctuaries only 10 km apart. The evidence, in any case, tells against it. A mention of the *Tauropolia* (probably at Halai) refers to women and maidens dancing through the night; the combination of women and maidens would provide, as we shall see, an opportunity for the incorporation of the newly initiated into the women's community [ch. 4.3.2]; and night means torches, which are characteristic of New Year ceremonies at which initiation can appropriately take place. Halai too has its *krateriskoi*, implying some sort of *Arkteia*. Conversely, at Brauron, though statues of girls up to the age of around 12 are found and are sometimes mentioned in connection

with the *Arkteia*, these are vastly outnumbered by those of boys up to the age of around 10.⁴⁴ So both shrines dealt in historical times with both sexes. And in earlier times, the shrines were surely more independent of each other, each serving its own community with a full range of initiatory products.

So what we can discover about the cults is in part tantalizing, but mostly disappointing. And this is the more remarkable for the fact that Athens was the most literate state in Greece. Beyond Attica, in Megara or Arcadia, we can say nothing of the rituals associated with Artemis and Iphigeneia. There is a desperate need for another source of evidence.

4 THE MEANING OF THE MYTHS

The advantage of beginning our investigations with Iphigeneia and the *Arkteia* is that in this case there is good evidence for the association of myth with cult. The Brauronian myth in what I have argued to be its late form makes an overt connection with the cult: an oracle demands the institution of the *Arkteia* and the myth becomes straightforwardly aetiological. But even without the oracle, bears are sufficiently uncommon in Greece for the presence of a she-bear at the sanctuary of Artemis in the myth to cry out for connection with girls called 'Bears' in the cult. This, then, is an example of a myth which can be connected with cult without speculation. It remains to work out the details of the connection and to refer to them when working with myths whose cults have vanished from the record.

4.1 *Bears, girls, and boys*

The Mounichia-Brauron myth reflects the girls who take part in the ritual at two points: first, a girl who pokes fun at a bear; later, a daughter (of Embaros, or of 'Agamemnon') who is to be sacrificed. The bear of myth had been wild, but within the sanctuary of Artemis it is tame. Conversely the girls will become wild by assuming the character of Bears in Artemis' sanctuary. The mythical girl pokes fun at the bear which has entered the community; the real girls must now be separated from the community. Thus the myth, in its contrapuntal way, reinforces and gives sense to the ritual: it reinforces the issue of the

relationship of the girls to the community and it gives sense to the use of the bear as a vehicle for the expression of that issue.⁴⁵

The bear scratches the girl's face, recalling a type of initiatory mutilation familiar in other cultures,⁴⁶ and then her brothers kill it. They should belong to the corresponding age-group of the opposite sex, i.e. male initiands; for them also there may once have been a role in these girls' rites – we shall see this indicated in other myths too and, more broadly, it is to be expected if, as we shall see repeatedly hinted, girls' initiation rites are part of a larger complex of rituals serving to renew the whole community. And if the role of the boys is to reject from the community the bear with whom the girls will be required to identify, then we can associate their role here with the ritual chase of the Sikyonian Proitids by young men under Melampous [ch. 4.3.3].

4.2 *Death by sacrifice*

Sacrifice of a daughter has its gruesome fascination – and pitfalls. There is a temptation to think that, as human sacrifice is a very 'primitive' activity and as all nations once were primitive, human sacrifice was once common enough and was only abandoned as society became more civilized. The Greeks themselves thought this way and attributed the abolition of cannibalism to culture-bringers such as Orpheus and Isis, whilst ascribing the practice of human sacrifice to myth or barbarians. (Only in the shrine of Zeus Lykaeos in Arcadia was it supposed to have been practised – and comfortingly archaeologists have found not a single identifiable human remain.) The picture can then be neatly completed by taking on an evolutionary mentality and citing examples of 'mitigations of an old custom of human sacrifice', typically by animal substitution (Frazer). Now the Embaros story will require 'human sacrifice, which was converted in a more humane age to goat-sacrifice' (Wernicke). Or:

One may wonder whether this story of substitution points directly to a primitive time when originally a human sacrifice of a girl was made to Artemis. In legend she is often associated with this kind of offering.

(Parke 138)⁴⁷

Indeed there are cases where such modes of thought may match the facts, most strikingly the case where Abraham sacrifices a ram instead of his son Isaac; here the mythology looks intended dialectically to displace the well-attested Canaanite practice of child-sacrifice. But it is a different question whether Iphigeneia and Embaros stories should be mentioned in the same breath. The reason for this scepticism was stated as long ago as 1912 by Jane Harrison:

Rare though Human Sacrifice is, and rarer still its survivals, the mock slaying of a boy in initiation rites is so common as to be almost universal, and in a large number of instances it is the memory of this mock slaying, misunderstood, that survives.

Words such as 'rare' and 'common' need amplification. Human sacrifice is 'common' in the sense that it is commoner than one might think or hope: thus Burkert can claim 'Ethnology shows that maiden-sacrifice is performed *uncomfortably* often from Mexico to Polynesia' (my italics). But the motif of 'death of the initiate' in passage rites is common because it is part of a standard pattern. As a mere sample, one may take the scene amongst the Ndembu (Zambia) where the milk tree under which female initiands each sit and the site where boys are circumcised is known as *the place of death* and these are the words spoken: 'Bring the children: *kambanji* [the leading initiate] is the first to be killed in the place of dying.'⁴⁸

The *Arkteia* is plainly a passage rite: it involves a defined age-group because it is a prerequisite for marriage; the participants must wear special clothes, or be nude; they must be separated from the community. When in this context we find that a person of the condition of the initiands is to be sacrificed in their myth, we have clearly enough the motif of initiatory death, not a survival of human sacrifice. The myth of course talks of sacrifice not death, because the only permissible death within the sanctuary of Artemis is sacrifice to her. The oddity from the comparativist's viewpoint is that the *Arkteia* (like other Greek initiations) takes place within the context of the cult of a divinity. The significance of this use of death is summed up particularly well for our purposes by Eliade:

Le passage du monde profane au monde sacré implique d'une manière ou d'une autre l'expérience de la Mort: on meurt à

une certaine existence pour accéder à une autre. Dans l'exemple qui nous occupe [an Australian example] on meurt à l'enfance et à l'irresponsabilité de l'existence enfantine, c'est-à-dire profane, pour pouvoir accéder à une existence supérieure: celle où est rendue possible la participation au sacré.

This is, in fact, a fundamental question of how one should read myths that are associated with rituals, which has been briefly but tellingly explored by Bremmer. Generally he finds – and I define this now as *Bremmer's Principle* – that *Ritual symbolizes but myth exaggerates*. For instance:

During the annual Lemnian ritual of the new fire, wives had to abstain from sexual intercourse with their husbands but myth spoke of the wives murdering their husbands . . . we may safely assume that wives never annually killed their husbands.

In the same way, because Orestes was 'nearly' sacrificed to the 'Tauroi', the ritual at Halai is enacted with a mock-killing of a 'man' by a method which for Graf rightly recalls the ritual for those who would be initiated into the *luperci* at Rome. The young men of Halai, it seems, are initiated as *tauroi*, bulls; the name is certainly known, applied to the initiands who acted as wine-pourers in the cult of Poseidon at Ephesos. The implications of the name for the leaders of the droves of initiands at Sparta, *bouagoi* ('oxen-leaders'), can be little different.⁴⁹

4.3 Seclusion

So the child dies, though not literally: in the real world of cult a goat is sacrificed, which we understand from the myth to be in place of the child. The goat dies and with it childhood ends: this is the rite of separation. The girl herself vanishes: at Mounichia, Embaros has put her in the *adyton* of the temple.

Brelich draws the parallel with the *Arrhephoroi* who 'spend some time with the goddess' and deduces from the Mounichian myth that at Brauron and Mounichia too the Bears spent some time in the service of Artemis in the sanctuary, as the scholiast suggests: 'Artemis, enraged, ordered every maiden to imitate the bear before marriage and to look after the shrine wearing the *krokōtos* clothing.' We have seen the *Parthenon* at Brauron

suggested as their residence during this period. But the Brauron inscription mentions a more likely candidate: the *amphipoleion* ('attendants' quarters') 'in which . . . [here a word is lost in the inscription] live' – surely, as L and J. Robert, the Bears. The *amphipoleion* is an ample building with a second storey. And if a Euripidean chorus can describe Iphigeneia in the service of Artemis as *amphipolos koura* ('attendant maid'), then *amphipoleion* is the *mot juste* for Bears' living-quarters at Brauron. What else are those who 'look after the shrine' than 'attendants'?⁵⁰

The *adyton* is not a regular feature of Greek temples. It is something special, which Travlos associates with temples dedicated to chthonic gods and shrines of certain heroes. But Graf (interestingly from our point of view) notes a recurrence in temples of Artemis Tauropolos; does this link the goddess with the need for ritual seclusion? Certainly, the Artemis temples of Aulis, Halai, and Brauron all possess an *adyton* and its role for housing safely the newly segregated initiand is specified in the Embaros myth – as well as in a most unexpected source. In *Iliad* 5.432ff. Aeneas faces certain death at the hands of Diomedes:

But Apollo set Aeneas apart from the throng
In sacred Pergamon [*the Trojan citadel*] where his temple
had been built.
Him Leto and Artemis arrow-pourer
Healed and glorified in the great *adyton*.

Apollo substitutes an 'image' of Aeneas on the battlefield. But later he sends Aeneas forth from the shrine with new strength (a new man?) and 'set him amongst his companions' (512ff). This is segregation in the *adyton*, a liminal period with the Delian triad, and final reincorporation. In a particularly ritualistic depiction on a *krateriskos* of about 420 BC, we see an *Arkteia*-scene complete with persons dressed as bears and with the whole triad – Apollo, Artemis, Leto. In the shrine at Aulis, statues of Apollo and Artemis flanked the entrance to the *adyton*.⁵¹ The *Iliad* scene fits the Embaros story well. But it fits the Aulis legend even better: Iphigeneia/Aeneas is about to be killed; but the Delian god(dess) intervenes, makes a substitution (of a Hesiodic 'image'), and removes the threatened person.

More broadly, the very sites of the temples can be seen as deliberately marginal and therefore segregating. It is not just that, after Athenian synoikism, Brauron is at some distance from the homes of the likes of Lysistrata. Rather, we should ask if it can really be coincidence that every sanctuary we have discussed in this chapter – Aulis, Halai, Brauron, and Mounichia – is next to the sea. It is the same geographical principle, if not quite so extreme, as when the maidens of Troizen dedicate their girdles to Athene Apatouria at an uninhabited offshore island.⁵²

4.4 *Return to the community*

When Iphigeneia is gone, a deer is left. Athenian maidens must perform the Bear ritual, become Bears. There were real sacred animals in a number of ancient shrines. Artemis at Lousoi had sacred flocks or herds of cattle in historical times; and at Lykosoura (southernmost Arcadia) the shrine of Despoina, a goddess close to Artemis, was the home of a sacred deer.⁵³ When girls are assigned to a shrine for passage rites, they become in a sense another category of sacred animal and this is a clear reason why myths associate them with sacred animals and can even metamorphose them into animals and why in the liminal period of the ritual they become Bears, or – as we shall suggest – Deer or Cows.

But in the end, this separate group, with its races and dances, must be reincorporated so that its members may enter upon a new condition of life within the community. Perhaps the period concluded with the festival, the Brauronia, when the Bears display the racing and dancing skills which they have learnt to an admiring community (just as the *Arrhephoria* leads to the Panathenaia) or amongst the womenfolk to whom they now belong (as in the case of the Thesmophoria with its Mother and Maid mythology). Now Lysistrata may proudly declare: ‘I was a Bear at the Brauronia.’ However, a nubility rite is itself incomplete: it leaves the girls marriageable but unmarried. Certainly, such rites exist separately from marriage rites, but usually when performed for individuals. Group nubility rites seem rather to imply group-marriage, which in a sense is not an additional rite, but the close which the nubility rites were lacking: it is the rite of incorporation. This is where the myth of the

DEATH AND THE MAIDEN

Danaids will point [ch. 7.5.2], as will an interesting Thessalian rite related to Iphigeneia at Aulis [ch. 2.4.5]. And the profile produced at Brauron would then satisfy the prescription of Hesiod (*Works and Days* 698) remarkably: ‘Your (prospective) wife should be in her prime for four years and married in the fifth.’

Many elements of the type of closing rite we envisage are found in a festival at Ephesos, described early in his romance by Xenophon of Ephesos, a man of the early second century AD well acquainted with local culture, to judge by the title of another of his works, *On the City of the Ephesians*:

The local festival procession of Artemis was being conducted from the city to the shrine – a distance of seven stades. All the local maidens had to take part in the procession, expensively adorned, as had all the youths [*epheboi*] who were of the same age as Habrokomes [*the hero*]. He himself was around 16, was one of the youths, and had the leading part in the procession. There was a large crowd of onlookers, from both home and abroad. Indeed, it was the custom at that festival for husbands to be found for the maidens and wives for the youths . . . Each of the girls was adorned as for a lover; and the line of maidens was led by Anthia, daughter of Megamedes and Euippe, local people. Anthia’s beauty was astonishing and much surpassed the other maidens. She was 14 years old and the shapeliness of her body was in blossom . . . Her clothing was a knee-length tunic, purple-dyed, girt, reaching the upper arm, and over it a deerskin [*nebris*]; attached was a quiver, she carried bow and arrows and spears, and dogs followed her. Often when the Ephesians saw her in the precinct they worshipped her as Artemis; and on that occasion when the crowd saw her, they cried out . . . And the cry among all the onlookers was ‘Beautiful Anthia’ [*Anthia he kale*].

Much is united in this account: the marginal position of the Artemis shrine (we learn elsewhere that it is, of course, by the sea, ch. 2.4.3), the procession equally of boys and girls under the auspices of Artemis, the ages of 16 and 14, the constant emphasis on ‘beauty’ – to which the maidens’ leader has exceptional claim and to which the admiring community is particularly sensitive; such, doubtless, was the sensitivity of the audiences who judged

beauty-contests at Lesbos.⁵⁴ The leader herself practically impersonates Artemis and is specially dressed in a deerskin (whose significance we shall see immediately below). And finally we see marriage as the presumed outcome of the procession. It is not, of course, exactly the same picture as Brauron, but it is a passage deeply suggestive of the ambience which our Brauronian evidence cannot supply and it presents a picture which should be retained to compare with the other rites we shall discuss. Not least those at Aulis:

4.5 *The Deer of Aulis*

At Aulis the bear in the myth of the *Arkteia* is replaced by a deer – another female animal of the wild, associated, appropriately for races, with fleetness of foot. Girls at Aulis were therefore not Bears but Deer. And perhaps they wore not the *krokōtos* but the *nebris* ('deerskin') known as the characteristic dress in women's rites of Dionysos and the dress of Anthia as she impersonates Artemis.

There is startling confirmation for this in a study of Thessalian inscriptions made by Clement in 1934. An inscription from Demetrias (Pagasai New Town, as it were) records a dedication to Artemis of Pagasai made by one 'Dynatis daughter of Melanthios' who has performed the action denoted by the verb *nebeuo*. Though the cautious lexicographer may comment 'probably non-Hellenic word, of performing some service to Artemis', von Gaertringen was surely right to compare the word with *arkteuo* ('do the Bear ritual') and conclude that the inscription recorded service as a *Nebros* ('Deer'). Clement reinforced this picture with two further inscriptions, this time from Larisa. On one, a man pays *lytra*, a ransom or release-fee, to Artemis Throsia for a woman who has *nebeuo*-ed. On the other, he is her husband.⁵⁵

So Artemis cult in two towns in Thessaly provides what the myth of the Aulis cult demands: first, a ceremony of Deer, and secondly a very close connection with marriage, calling to mind the Ephesian group-marriage or group-betrothal. The Deer ceremony may well have ended, via *lytra*, with marriage. The Thessalian connection in Boiotia will not surprise us when we have looked at Achilles: the Aeolian population of pre-Dark-Age

Boiotia had come from Thessaly. So the familiar myth of Agamemnon sacrificing his daughter Iphigeneia at Aulis in fact represents the cult myth of the **Nebeia* at Aeolic Aulis.

What was Artemis' title at Aulis? At Tanagra she is known as Artemis *Aulideia*,⁵⁶ but locally, given that the Iphigeneia myth starts with the shooting of a deer, should we not apply her otherwise well-known title and call her *Elaphebolos* ('Deer-shooter')? Perhaps, though Artemis Throsia shows us that anything is possible.

4.6 *Rite of Spring*

When were these festivals held? The Greek states of historical times had their individual sets of month names, usually drawn from festivals held during them which had been important locally when the calendar was drawn up. But conflict between the lunar and solar year and erratic intercalation to adjust the relationship between the two meant that not only did different states frequently have different names for the same month, but even that months with the same name could occur at rather different times during the year. As Censorinus, a Roman grammarian, observed, civil calendars were out of step not only with the solar year but also with each other. At Athens the month name Mounichion tells us that the rites of Artemis Mounichia were held in late spring. The same month at Delos is called Artemision after a festival, Artemisia, and at Rhodes similarly Artamitios, though elsewhere it is often the name of the following month. This latter is the month which at Athens is known as Elaphebolion, relating to Artemis' title Elaphebolos [ch. 2.4.5]. The various local, even parochial, traditions that have gone into the creation of the calendars of the mature states all drive towards this conclusion: these festivals of Artemis were held in the spring, though maybe not every spring, as the periodicity of the Brauronia shows. These were special spring festivals, in which society itself is prepared for a new beginning [ch. 2.3.2.3, ch. 9.5].⁵⁷

5 IPHIGENEIA

5.1 *Prototype and cult*

We have explored myths, rituals, and their meanings, but it remains to look at Iphigeneia herself: what is she?

The myth presents her not as a goddess, but as a human being, someone's daughter. She lived a long time ago, not so much because she was sacrificed in the spring of 1193 BC, as because she lived in mythical time, a very special sort of time, illuminatingly explored by Eliade:

Sacred Time is by its very nature reversible, in the sense that it is, properly speaking, *a primordial Mythical Time made present*. Every religious festival, every Liturgical Time, consists in the replay of a sacred event which had taken place in a mythical past, 'at the beginning'. [Eliade's italics]

His interpretation, though too sweeping as a general account of religious festivals, applies well to the case of Iphigeneia. Her sacrifice takes place *in illo tempore*; and the event is repeated by the ritual ending of girlhood and consecration to the goddess by the *Arkteia* or **Nebeia*. She is in this sense a *prototype*. In just the same way girl initiates amongst the Navajo take upon themselves the identity of a primeval 'goddess' called 'Changing Woman'. Moreover, these myths happen at a beginning: Iphigeneia will be the (first) priestess of Artemis at Brauron (and Aulis?); and Embaros will gain the priesthood for his family for ever. In the later Brauron myth, the slaying of the bear leads to the commencement of the *Arkteia*; and at Megara, 'Agamemnon' founds the temple of Artemis.⁵⁸

Because she (almost) dies she has a tomb, her Tomb of the Maiden. Because she has a tomb, she is a 'heroine', she belongs to that category of being which the Greeks placed above men and sometimes near to gods. Because she is a heroine with a tomb, she can, even must, receive cult; and at Brauron the clothing of women who die in childbirth is dedicated to her. At the same time we should beware of supposing that too much is meant in this context by the word 'cult'. In a sense there is cult today at the tomb of the Unknown Warrior; but the function of the warrior is to represent in the singular all the warriors who die for

their country and to provide an appropriate place for displays of attachment to that patriotic concept. The warrior is not worshipped. In a similar way, the tomb of the prototype, Iphigeneia, can provide a place at which appropriate activities may take place; she is not necessarily worshipped, nor is her aid necessarily invoked. Those who die in childbirth fit this pattern too: an extended transition is envisaged, from girlhood through the *Arkteia* into marriage and on to the birth of the first child:

At Athens what marked a woman's definitive passage into the husband's family was not the marriage but the birth of the first child. Only when she gave her husband a child, did a woman enter irreversibly into the new *oikos*.

(Cantarella 47)

Those who die at childbirth fail to complete the passage and are associated with Iphigeneia, symbol of the passage, in consequence.

5.2 *How to eliminate heroes?*

The Greeks viewed their heroes as elevated men and even, in accordance with that view, elevated real men in historical times to the status of hero. In more modern times, especially in Germany, there was a sort of Euhemerism in reverse, a tendency to view heroes as 'faded gods' – gods who had lost significance, had receded as more powerful gods dominated the field, had become viewed as mere supermen. And although this view has lost ground, particularly in the face of the overwhelming diversity of heroes, hero-cult is still regarded as something relatively late in Greek religion: thus Burkert argues that Nilsson's view that hero-cult continued Mycenaean grave-cult must be abandoned on archaeological grounds and that hero-worship really began in the eighth century BC as a result of the impetus given by epic poetry.⁵⁹ Both approaches are essentially reductionist and attempt to explain heroes by eliminating them.

So where do we place Iphigeneia in the context of such arguments? Initiations of girls are clearly enough not eighth-century inventions; if anything, they themselves have faded by classical times – it would be nearer to the truth to suppose them to be eighth-century losses. The mythology of Iphigeneia's

sacrifice antedates the *Kypria*; it seems to have entered epic tradition before that poem and derived ultimately from cult myth. This takes us back to the question of the continuity of the cult of Iphigeneia. Two problems at once arise. First, it is extraordinarily difficult to establish continuity of any individual cult through the Dark Age by archaeological means; yet many major gods evidently did continue to be worshipped. Secondly, if we are right to restrict the sense of 'cult' in the case of Iphigeneia, then before the custom of using *krateriskoi* was established, cult might well leave no archaeological traces: what relic would we find of gestures, libations, locks of hair, or clothing? Even wooden temples or the huts one may postulate as the more primitive source of the later *adyton* disappear without trace. The precise site for commemoration of the Maiden may change too: in the fifth century BC at Brauron a 'temple' replaces the collapsed cave which seems earlier to have served as the tomb of Iphigeneia.⁶⁰ (We may compare the cave of Pan and the Nymphs at Eleusis, where *krateriskoi* have been found.) And at Delos, the Mycenaean graves used as Tombs of the Hyperborean Maidens were designated during the Dark Age – instead of what?

Iphigeneia has been a candidate for 'faded goddess', one way or another, but a different way of reducing her to a goddess is more popular: here the lynch-pin has always been the worship at Hermione of 'Artemis Iphigeneia', where *Iphigeneia* is an epithet of Artemis. On this basis some have found it convenient to talk of her as a *hypostasis* or a *by-form* of Artemis, while Farnell refers to 'epithets . . . which have become detached from the divinity and have changed their designation' and Robert speaks of an independent mythical character Iphigeneia developing from the epithet of Artemis.⁶¹ But does it really explain Iphigeneia away to make her some sort of plasmatic projection from the goddess? What would be the point? Rather, the goddess is associated through the epithet with a pre-existing hero, even though that would not rid the earth of the inconvenient category of heroes. And this strange association has its parallels: Apollo Ptoios and Apollo Hyakinthos should perhaps be re-examined without the hasty assumption that a new god has taken over from an old god; and there are always Artemis Aspalis and Artemis Oupis to account for. Iphigeneia is not a superfluous relic of an ancient goddess or a pleonastic Artemis – she has a clear,

different, and necessary role. The heroine is the necessary prototype for the maiden and, above all, for the leading maiden who, like Anthia, will draw close to the goddess. Artemis repeatedly has her Iphigeneia, Kallisto, or Oupis in virtue of the rites which must be performed.

5.3 *The naming of the heroine*

Finally, Iphigeneia's name. Kjellberg considered that her name, whose elements apparently refer to 'might' and 'birth', pointed in the direction of a birth-goddess (reduction, again). Grégoire fills this out, interpreting Iphigeneia as meaning 'born mightily' or 'who brings about mighty birth'. And Kondis follows this path, alleging that the name means 'making mighty offspring' just as the lexicon alleges 'Kalligeneia' means 'bearer of fair offspring'. But there are problems with both halves. First, the ending *-genes* (feminine: *-geneia*) usually means 'born': for instance *Diogenes* does not mean 'giving birth to Zeus' but 'born from Zeus'; and *eugenes* means not 'bearing well' but 'well-born'. In any case, *-genes* is too banal an element in personal names to refer specifically to giving birth in this single instance.

Secondly, the word for 'might' would lead to a name **Igeneia*, not *Iphigeneia*, as compounds are not made from case endings; the connection with 'might' is a folk-etymology, though it may go back some considerable way. I would be more inclined to believe in Hesychios' word *iphis* which he alleges means 'pretty' (*kale*), so that Iphigeneia is equivalent to *Kalligeneia* – 'born beautiful'. Beauty is a key value for nubility and in the contest for premier position in the age-class, as Anthia the Beautiful shows us; and if this is the meaning of *Iphi-*, it draws the bear *Kallisto* ('prettiest') still closer to the rites we have considered in this chapter.⁶²

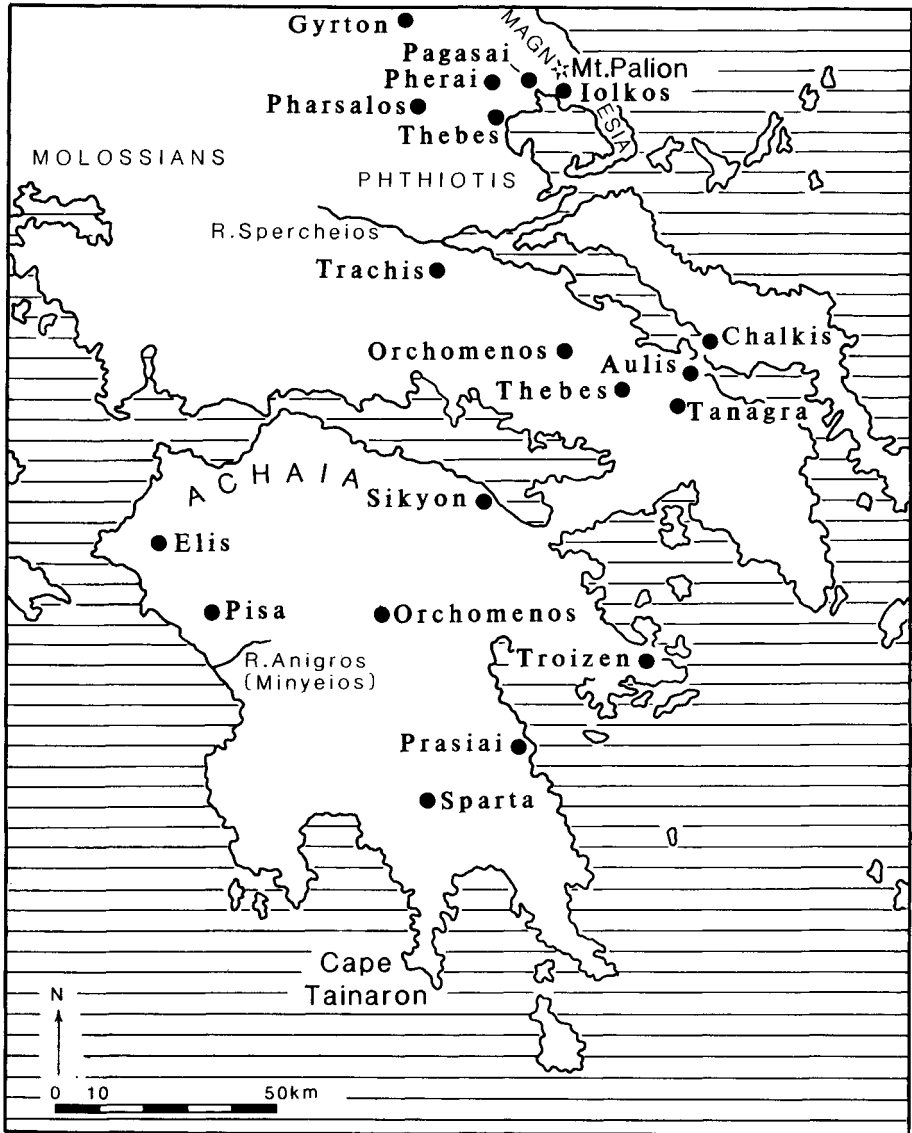
6 SUMMARY

In Attica some girls underwent rites preliminary to marriage and in fact preliminary to puberty which involved their separation from the community and a period of service in the shrine of Artemis. In earlier times, before the synoikism of the Athenian state, the local Artemis cult centres may have provided such passage rites, at least on a limited basis, for all the daughters of

the community – and probably the boys too. The larger context for these rites is a ceremony of the renewal of society at the opening, in the spring, of a new chronological period whose length is determined by the span of the initiatory age-group (for instance, four years). At Mounichia and Brauron a myth was told in connection with the initiatory rites, and ‘explained’ them. At Mounichia, and maybe originally at Brauron, the motif ‘sacrifice of the daughter’ is used to represent the final passage from the condition of girlhood, displaying the common motif in world initiation rites of ‘initiatory death’. Iphigeneia, a figure with a tomb in Brauron and in Megara and a myth making her the daughter to be sacrificed at Aulis, is a prototype for girls performing this passage rite. As such she is found at Artemis sanctuaries and is commemorated there.

The Aulis myth provides an example of the development and re-use of mythology. A local cult myth is nationalized by making Iphigeneia the daughter of Agamemnon, leader of a panhellenic expedition against Troy. Her sacrifice within Artemis’ sanctuary in an initiatory context is reinterpreted as ‘sacrifice preliminary to warfare’,⁶³ though with an important touch of ‘atonement’. In this way the myth enters the epic and tragic tradition. Indeed, to suggest it had been a cult myth at all might have seemed risky but for two facts: *Embaros* became a proverb which had to be explained; and Aristophanes mentioned the Brauronian *Arkteia* in a single line of one of his plays. But for these two items of pure chance the mythology of Brauron and Mounichia, and with it the myth–ritual connection, would have been completely lost.

DEATH AND THE MAIDEN



Map 3.1 Achilles and Leukippos: Greek mainland

THESSALIANS AND OTHER AEOLIC GREEKS: ACHILLES AND LEUKIPPOS

1 ACHILLES: LOCAL OR NATIONAL?

Die Sagengestalten der Heimat müssen es sich gefallen lassen,
in die Ferne entführt zu werden.

(CRUSIUS 750)

Achilles may seem a strange hero to find in a book on legendary maidens. But we will find that he makes a surprisingly appropriate partner for Iphigeneia. And at the same time, he is a particularly interesting example of a figure who has migrated from place to place with Greek tribes and made it from local tradition into the big-time epic. The conventional cynicism that his cult simply arose from his special place in the captivating fictions of epic will need to be set aside if we can demonstrate a workable geographical distribution. He is, in fact, a worthwhile test of our view of myth [ch. 1.2].

We know where Achilles comes from – the region known in historical times as ‘Thessaly’ (though Homer barely knew that term). It is never claimed that his place of origin was anywhere else. This is vital because, unlike modern novels, where authors may freely and arbitrarily choose the birthplace of their heroes and heroines, Greek myths are traditional and locations (on our hypothesis) usually point back to those for whom the myth was significant. The only real exception (other than that formed by the merger of different myths) is the use of location to specify Beyond: we will see Egypt used this way in the Danaid myth [ch. 7.5.2]. So if Achilles comes from Thessaly, it is because inhabitants of Thessaly formed his story. We will start in Thessaly and then examine the routes by which the traditions of Achilles spread.

2 THESSALY: THE CRADLE OF ACHILLES

Above the Bronze Age city of Iolkos rises Mount Pälion (Pēlion only in Ionian and Athenian Greek). Achilles' father Pēleus is associated with both, even if the mountain is not named after him. In a cave on the mountain lived the centaur Cheiron. Nothing could be more Thessalian than centaurs, the *Phēres* ('Beasts') of local dialect; and to Cheiron's 'imperishable cave' (Pindar) the Magnētes, the local tribe, brought roots and plants as first-fruits. Cheiron educated Peleus and (then?) gave him the great ash spear, made from a tree grown on the peak of Mt Pälion, on the occasion of his marriage to Thetis – so Stasinos tells us. With this special spear Peleus, now adult and qualified, captures Iolkos (single-handed in Pindar!). There is a striking overlap, confusion or even identity with Pēlias, the lord and maybe founder of Iolkos.¹ But Achilles' mother Thetis belongs further west. Her shrine, the Thetideion, is found near Pharsalos (a town oddly absent from Homer):² 'Then Peleus went to Phthia, taking Thetis on these horses, and took up residence in Pharsalos and in Thetideion, which is what the city [!] is called after Thetis' (Pherekydes, *FGH* 3F1). So Achilles, if we can trust these traditions, was assigned a hero of Magnesia and a demi-goddess of south-central Thessaly as parents.

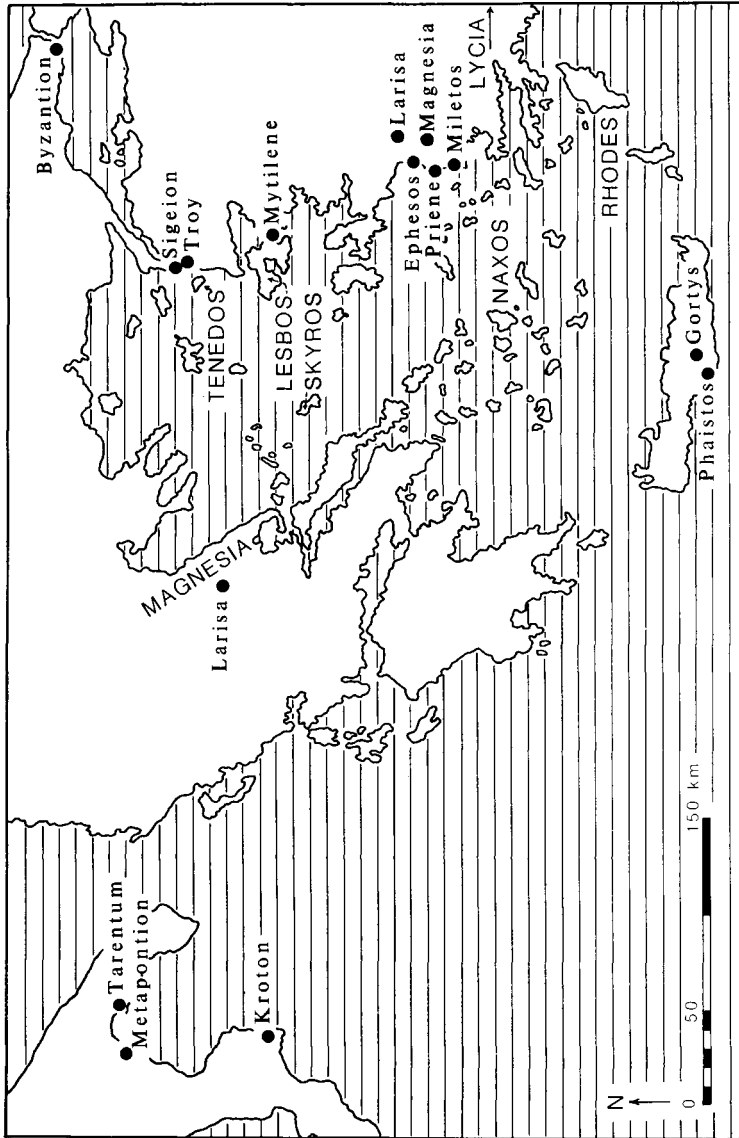
It is in a rather different area that Homer's Achilles rules and lives. His education by Cheiron replays that of Peleus, but he rules over 'Phthia', an area which lent its name to the later and perhaps rather lower Phthiotis (the southern part of Thessaly) and included the Spercheios valley in the south west. Achilles had vowed his hair to the River Spercheios; one of his captains, Menesthios, is the son of Achilles' sister and the same river; and Achilles' only identifiable town, Trāchis (Ionic: Trēchis), lies a little south-west of the river mouth.³

Achilles' Thessalian roots contrast with Troy, the principal scene of his deeds. Yet attempts can be made, if perilously, to re-assign some of his adventures to Thessaly. Where, for instance, is 'Thebe under Plakos', where according to Homer Eētion, Andromache's father, rules over 'Cilician men'? Orthodoxy follows Strabo in siting a lost Thebe under a lost Mt Plakos in the foothills of Mt Ida near Adramyttion. But there is still force in the old suggestion of Bethe that the Thebe that Achilles attacks is

at root not some undiscoverable Thebe of Asia Minor, but Phthiotic Thebes, a real enough place in the foothills of a mountain range (does the adjective *hypoplakios* mean anything more than this?) and near enough the sea to be sacked by a seaborne expedition. Andromache, the most famous inhabitant of Thebe, would then marry Neoptolemos at nearby Pharsalos, bearing Molossos to be the eponym for a tribe in not too distant Epeiros. Oral poets or migrating populations appear to have transferred Thessalian saga to Troy.

Bethe also thought there might be something behind Istros' allegation in Bk. 13 of his *Attika* [later 3rd century BC] that 'Alexander the Thessalian Paris was defeated in battle by Achilles and Patroklos at the River Spercheios,' We might have more confidence in this 'idiosyncratic and deviant' story (as Plutarch brands it) if it did not go on to relate the capture of Troizen by Hektor. Crusius and Jacoby (altering the text for instance to 'Alexander in Thessaly was defeated . . .') were perhaps right to think it an invention to shift the war-guilt to the Trojans, by depicting a preliminary Trojan offensive in Greece. Yet it is curious, as Bethe saw, that Paris fights notably with Thessalians and, according to Sophocles, is finally killed by one – Philoktetes, leader of the Magnetes. And finally there is Kyknos, the first Trojan slaughtered by Achilles, whose other appearance in mythology, in the Herakles story, is as a Thessalian highwayman who attacks visitors to Apollo's shrine at Pagasai. The obvious conclusion is the one Robert draws: the episode has been transplanted from Thessaly to Troy.⁴

This type of relocation must have happened with a number of the heroes in the epic poems. Perhaps the most interesting example, if true, is that of Hektor, who, at least in Hellenistic times, had a tomb at Boiotian Thebes. His bones were allegedly brought there from Troy on the strength of an oracle – a convincing story for many: the bones, it is supposed, were as a fact of history brought from Troy on the advice of an oracle, just as the bones of Orestes were brought from Tegea to Sparta, the bones of Theseus from Skyros to Athens and the bones of Rhesos from Troy to Amphipolis. The Rhesos example, according to Leaf, showed that the bones of Hektor must have been imported. Yet there is a crucial and overwhelming difference between the case of Hektor and those of Orestes, Theseus, and Rhesos. All



Map 3.2 Achilles and Leukippos: Greece and the colonies

the others are (at least in theory) being repatriated: their bones are moved so that, like most good heroes, they may lie in their own fatherland to exert their beneficent influence. But Hektor is not a Theban and even if the Thebans were alleged to be the only Greeks not to fight the Trojans, it is hard to understand why they should want to import the bones of this defeated alien. If they wanted to import bones, they should have imported either Kadmos (a native) or Achilles (a success). So the parallel with the other bone removals fails. The oracle is a fabrication to 'explain' an already existing cult of Hektor made problematic by the very fact that on the usual view he does not belong to Thebes; and the engaging oddity of Thebans revering the bones of Hektor can be explained to busloads of tourists by a tale that there had been 'an oracle' just as in other 'similar' cases. Dümmler and Bethe were right to think that Hektor had been a figure of mainland cult or tradition before he was used in the story of Troy, and to observe how Hektor kills and wounds so many *Boiotians* in the *Iliad*. The River Scamander near Eleon (a place midway between Thebes, Tanagra and Aulis) will however fit either view.⁵

3 SKYROS: AN EDUCATION?

In the *Iliad* Achilles has already captured Skyros, an island half-way between Phthia and Lesbos, and has left his son Neoptolemos there. Alternatively, Thetis sent Achilles there so that he might avoid the Trojan War, dressed as a girl amongst the daughters of its king, Lykomedes; but he seduces one of them, Deidameia, thus begetting Neoptolemos.⁶ Why Skyros?

Amongst the first exploits of the Delian League was the capture of Skyros, 'the island in the Aegean which the Dolopes inhabited' (Thucydides 1.98.2). This same tribe according to Homer (*Il.* 9.484) inhabited the far reaches of Phthia, presumably high up the Spercheios valley. They are a specific tribe – and a Greek one, since they were members of the Delphic Amphictiony and their name is of a Greek type. If we now add in their eponymous hero Dolops whose grave could be found on the shore of Magnesia, and a Dolops who was the brother of Cheiron, then we can see that the distribution of Achilles and Peleus follows that of the Dolopes: Magnesia, Phthia, Skyros. A

Greek tribe in this part of the world and known to Homer is likely to be pre-Dorian, a fact one would guess from their later distribution anyway, and they can scarcely belong to any other dialect group than the Aeolic.⁷

Perhaps Skyros may figure in Thessalian myth as a Beyond [ch. 3.1], a marginal place suitable for the education of the warrior Achilles, and perhaps Lykomedes could be a maternal grandfather to whom Achilles, on the Indo-European pattern, is sent, as Odysseus was sent to Autolykos. But it is more likely that these are stories native to Skyros, a place adequately inhabited from the Middle Helladic period and a site for Late Mycenaean and Proto-Geometric finds. After all, Achilles' arrival in Skyros is told in strangely varying ways. In the *Iliad* [9.666-8] Achilles 'captured' Skyros and so was able from the spoils to give Patroklos the girl Iphis (a shortened 'Pretty' name, cf. ch. 2.5.3). In Stasinos Achilles just 'put in at Skyros and married Lykomedes' daughter Deidameia' (hopefully not his aunt). In the familiar version of Apollodoros (which can be traced back at least to Euripides and the painter Polygnotos) Thetis sends Achilles at age 9 to Lykomedes' court so that he may avoid the Trojan War by dressing as a maiden and hiding amongst the maidens there. The three versions of how Achilles came to be on Skyros contradict each other: the motif employed to get Achilles onto Skyros depends on the story one wishes to tell of him there. Stories are told of 'Achilles on Skyros'; getting Achilles there is a problem for those who base him elsewhere – just as Melampous, conveniently a wandering prophet, can take part though a Triphylian in an Argive tale [ch. 5.5.5].

Once we have seen that these are *Skyrian Tales*, then certain odd or uncomfortable features of the stories with arrival can be understood. Is Lykomedes really a father or brother of Thetis (nobody tells us he is)? And is the seduction of Deidameia and begetting of Neoptolemos really part of the same story anyway? The awful impression is given that Achilles begets him at the age of nine, because the poet is clearly desperate to get Neoptolemos begotten. Or, to take Stasinos, is it not incredibly perfunctory that Achilles 'puts in' at Skyros, immediately marries Deidameia, and thereby ensures that Neoptolemos is begotten in time for the story to continue on its way? And Homer's tale is amazing: why on earth has Achilles left Neoptolemos on Skyros, a place he has

sacked? In fact Neoptolemos' education only makes sense if, as Bremmer has shown, he is the one who 'was being educated, in the typical Indo-European manner, by his mother's father'. This is wholly incompatible with the sacking of Skyros.⁸

So the Aeolian Greeks of Skyros, the Dolopes, told tales of their Achilles on their island and these tales have been accommodated, by one means or another, to panhellenic epic tradition. One Skyrian tale is of Achilles masquerading as a girl at the king's court until he chooses the path of the warrior (adult male) – a reflection [ch. 3.5.4] of initiatory transvestism. The other concerns the warrior's son by the king's daughter. Initiatory doublets run in this family: Achilles' education by Cheiron repeats that of Peleus, and Neoptolemos' change of name from Pyrrhos, repeats Achilles' change from 'Ligyron'. And the participation of both Achilles and Neoptolemos was so necessary for 'the Trojan War' that an embassy including Odysseus is sent to fetch each.⁹ It is this embassy that Homer replays and enriches when he creates an embassy to Achilles to *renew* his participation in the war.

4 ACHILLES AND PLACE NAMES

So far, we have used myth to move the short distance from southern Thessaly to the island of Skyros. Now I introduce a new tool, the place name 'Achilleion', found in several parts of the Greek world and indicative of the standing of Achilles in the culture of those who named the site.¹⁰ In some cases one might expect a *heröon* of Achilles, an *Achilleion*. Perhaps Achilleion seems a banal name, due to the extraordinary fame which Homer's *Iliad* bestowed on Achilles. But the distribution of the name is less random than that view requires: it is absent from, for instance, Arcadia, Cyprus, Attica, the Argolid (except maybe Prasiai), and Crete. And Achilles has a special place in the culture of Greeks, who spoke, or originally spoke, the Aeolic dialect of Greek, which in historical times was distinct from (a) West-Greek (incl. Dorian), (b) Arcado-Cypriot, and (c) Ionic, divisions which are so deep-rooted that they must go back to the Bronze Age. Aeolic Greeks had once been the inhabitants of Thessaly and Boiotia, but during the Dark Age they were infiltrated by speakers of West-Greek, though their speech

remained in large part Aeolic. These are the people who also inhabited Skyros – and a bay on its eastern coast provides us with our first instance of the name Achilleion, a name which has persisted, it seems, until modern times.¹¹

Before the infiltration, the Aeolians had colonized Lesbos, an island which the *Iliad* tells us was ‘taken’ by Achilles. It cannot have been long before they made inroads into the Troad and the strategically sited island of Tenedos must have been an early seizure: here Achilles, intent on raping Hemithea, ends up killing her brother Tennes, the eponym of the island. A little further north, commanding the entrance to the Hellespont, Sigeion was founded by the Aeolic Greeks of Mytilene on Lesbos; and nearby was the famous Achilleion, with the tomb of Achilles revered by Alexander the Great and Caracalla. This sets a different scene for Achilles’ involvement in the war with Troy, a scene of colonists’ battles for land. And Aulis, as Cauer noted, is a more appropriate place for Aeolic colonists to muster their fleet than for a King of Mycenae.¹²

Turning south from Lesbos, we quickly reach towns inhabited by Ionian Greeks in historical times but still showing traces of earlier Aeolic settlement. At Erythrai there was a cult of Achilles, though joint worship with Thetis may indicate elaboration in the spirit of Homer. And another Achilleion lay near Smyrna, a city taken over by Ionians in the eighth century BC but originally founded by Aeolians perhaps around 1000 BC. Fifty miles further south again, in the plain of the River Maeander near Priene, there was an Achilleion, by now apparently firmly entrenched in Ionic territory. Yet in the vicinity are towns called Larisa and Magnesia, in memory of the Thessalian homeland of their founders. Magnesia is an ‘Aeolic city’ for Strabo, and Priene was traditionally half-founded by Greeks from (Aeolic) Thebes. However one views it, Ionianism has advanced and Aeolicism has receded.¹³

Even at Miletos there are faint Aeolic traces and here we find a spring Achilleion. This is not just a pleasant Homeric name: springs have their own significance, and this one has a story. Here Achilles was purified for the murder, committed either on Lesbos or at Miletos itself, of one Trambelos. The presence of a *heröon* of Trambelos on Lesbos may indicate the Aeolic source of the legend. In any case, Trambelos is the eponym of one of

those nations of Asia Minor with whom the early Greek colonists came into doubtless violent conflict, the Termilai (whom we know as the Lycians), and the story displays a remarkable sense of guilt on the part of the Greek immigrants. To Milesian interest in Achilles we also owe Achilleion, a place with a shrine on the Asian side of the Kimmerian Bosporos, and the Bath of Achilles at Byzantion and the altar of Achilles which 'Byzas' founded.¹⁴

In the Peloponnese there are curious instances of cult of Achilles. On the road from Sparta to Arcadia, still in Lakonia, was a closed shrine, used by 'ephebes' who were about to indulge in a practice whose marginality and initiatory character are overwhelming: they will fight on an island, surrounded by trees, at night, with utter disregard for the normal rules of civilized combat. This cult of Achilles was founded by Prax, a grandson of Pergamos the son of Neoptolemos. But Prax is just as evidently the eponym of Prasiai/Brasiai on the coast of eastern Lakonia, remotest in imperial times of the towns of the Eleutherolakones and even said by Strabo to belong to the Argives, as doubtless before Spartan expansion in the mid-sixth century it had. Here we find not only a shrine of Achilles but a yearly festival. The old view that this cult and the 'Harbour of Achilles' on the Tainaron peninsula are discernible relics of Minyan/Aeolian populations, resting on other evidence too, fits very closely. With Meyer we may think of tribal migrations in terms not of invasions by monolithic blocks, but of movements of relatively small groups, one of which would then have brought the cult of Achilles from Thessaly or Boiotia to Lakonia – parts of which we know still remembered their Boiotian ancestry.¹⁵

The gymnasium at Elis provides the strange phenomenon of women who wail for Achilles at an empty tomb as the Olympic Festival begins, echoed by the yearly festival at Kroton in which the womenfolk adopt mourning for Achilles. This is no coincidence: Myskellos of Rhypes, when he founded the colony of Kroton (trad. 710 BC), must have taken together with his Achaians (originally from Phthiotis themselves, it was said) other Greeks not of the North-West Greek stock which by now dominated Elis. Earlier, Elis must have been home for Aeolic Greeks, as we can see from information about the Minyai, a tribe whose movements can be charted. They are best known as the inhabitants of 'Minyeian' Orchomenos, as the epic calls it, in

Boiotia. But a link is forged between that city and Iolkos by the Argonauts, themselves described as Minyai, who give Iolkos its only real claim to fame in Greek legend by setting out from there. Iolkos is said to be founded from Orchomenos by Minyas, the eponym of the Minyai and according to Apollonios an 'Aeolid', or conversely Orchomenos to be founded from Iolkos by the Minyai. And there are other Thessalian associations too, for instance a town Minya, and apparently a Minyan Orchomenos, both of them in Thessaly. The clear implication is that the Minyai were a tribe which before the Dark Age had descended from Thessaly to Boiotia; and they must in any case, on linguistic grounds, belong to the Aeolic group.¹⁶

The Minyans reach further south too. They are surely responsible for the naming of the *third* Orchomenos, in northern Arcadia. And it is because of them that before he reached the River Alpheios Nestor had to fight at a River *Minyeios*, identified by Pausanias' Triphylian and Arcadian sources with the River Anigros. Finally, it is a fact that Minyai inhabited Triphylia and had their towns sacked by the Eleans in Herodotos' time (perhaps around 475 BC). So Aeolic Greeks living in Elis before the arrival of the North-West Greek Eleans must have established the custom of mourning for Achilles in connection with youth sports; and, when pressure from the new Eleans became too great, some of them gladly emigrated with fellow 'Achaians' to found Kroton and mourn Achilles there. As heroes are worshipped at their tombs, mourning is a natural form of reverence. Thetis' mourning for her child, recalled in the last book of the *Odyssey*, played for all it was worth in the penultimate scene of the *Aithiopis* of Arktinos, and anticipated throughout the *Iliad* (even in Thetis' presence at *Patroklos*' mourning), is the mythical counterpart of the custom.¹⁷

5 ACHILLES AT TANAGRA

5.1 *The myth of foundation*

I have left until now one last Achilleion. Plutarch tells us that in front of the city of Tanagra in Boiotia was 'Achilleion, a place so called'. By his time (c. 100 AD) it seems there was no longer a shrine. But the myth which he tells reveals that there had once been (his likeliest source for the story is a work *On Heroes*)

Shrines by an unidentifiable Diokles). Indeed, Roller thinks he has found its site.¹⁸

It has been said that this cult was imported 'due to reflex influences from Asia Minor'.¹⁹ But our examination of sites associated with Achilles leads to the opposite conclusion: we expect to find Achilles revered in Boiotia; it is more surprising that so few traces of him survive from the Aeolic settlement of the region. His worship descends from the part played in a common Aeolic culture established long before the end of the Bronze Age, for otherwise he would have been unready to be taken by colonists to Lesbos. Indeed, he must be of high antiquity if one is to reunite the Dolopes of Skyros with those scattered about Thessaly and reunite the Aeolic Boiotians with their Thessalian brothers.

The myth which Plutarch tells in connection with the Achilleion of Tanagra, like that of Iphigeneia, shows a father killing his child:

Now Poimandros [the founder-hero of Tanagra] the father of Ehippos, at the time when the territory of Tanagra was still a collection of scattered villages, was being besieged by the Achaians in the place called Stephon because he refused to join the [Trojan] expedition. He abandoned that place during the night and fortified Poimandria [the origin of Tanagra]. The architect Polykrithos, who was there at the time, belittled the fortifications and in a spirit of mockery leapt over the ditch. Poimandros was enraged and tried to throw at him a huge stone which had lain there since ancient times covering the sacred objects of the Nyktelia [nocturnal rites of Dionysos]. Wrenching this up in ignorance, Poimandros threw it, but missed Polykrithos and killed his [own]²⁰ son Leukippos. Now according to the law he had to leave Boiotia and become a 'suppliant at the hearth' abroad, but this was scarcely easy as the Achaians had invaded the territory of Tanagra. So he sent his son Ehippos to ask Achilles. Ehippos succeeded and brought him, as well as Tlepolemos son of Herakles and Peneleos son of Hippalkmos who were all relations of his [Poimandros?], and they together escorted Poimandros out to Chalkis where he was purified of the manslaughter by Elephenor. After which he gave honour to the men and

selected precincts for all of them, and that of Achilles has kept its name.

(Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae* 299c-300a)

Another version survives of this obscure story. A rather battered papyrus contains a commentary on a poet such as Lykophron which is listing examples of those who killed members of their family:

. . . Rhianos, in [Book . . .] of his *Herakleia*, says that Poimandros married Stratonike daughter of Euonymos and begat three sons, A[.]chippos, Ephippos and Leukippos, and two daughters, Rhexipyle and Arch[epto]leme. Aristophanes in Book 1 of his *Boiotika* says that Ephippos was killed by Poimandros after leaping over a d[itch] as is generally thought . . . He says that when Poimandros had put the [ditch] around the city, his son Ephippos said he would easily leap over the ditch. Poimandros said no, but Ephippos leapt across and [. . .

The 'architect' Polykrithos, whose name ('Much Barley') perhaps suggests an original métier other than architecture, appears only in Plutarch's, more elaborate, version, in order maybe to distance Poimandros still further from the guilt of slaying his son. And though both versions recognize the existence of both Ephippos and Leukippos, they differ as to which one was slain, something which is not made less curious by Plutarch's undue emphasis in the opening line above on Poimandros being the father of *Ephippos*. It is true, as Schachter remarks, that the papyrus does not mention Achilles, but it gives out before Achilles was due to be mentioned anyway.²¹

What, then, is the original form of this myth? Plutarch's story, even divested of its cereal architect, retains a composite appearance: in particular, the linking of Achilles with the story has appeared very weak. For Schachter the story 'seems to have no real connection with Achilles'. And Halliday, observing that 'it would serve admirably as an aition for a cult of Leukippos', analyses it as follows:²²

It appears as though in fact, three quite independent matters have been brought together: (1) a local cult of Achilles; (2) the story of the jumping over the ditch and the taboo stone; (3) the

punitive expedition of the Achaeans, which is a gloss upon, and therefore later than, Homeric tradition.

One could equally separate out the taboo stone of the Nyktelia as belonging to the cult of Dionysos not Achilles, though we will gradually see how nocturnal festivals of Dionysos can provide the New Year backcloth for initiations and come to understand the rightness of the connection of Leukippos with the Boiotian Nyktelia/Agrionia festivals [ch. 4.3.2]. Yet to reduce a composite myth to its elements is not necessarily to recover its original form, any more than to break up the *Iliad* through analysis is to recover an original *Iliad*. A myth may speak to us through its very combination of elements and this myth is desperate to relate the father's slaughter of the son to the cult of Achilles.

5.2 *Achilles, death of the young*

Achilles is characteristically murderous. One victim is **Tennes**, who 'is considered to be a most holy god by the people of Tenedos and is said to have founded that city' (Cicero, *Verr.* II.1 §49). Tennes' mythology stresses his separation from his father: a Potiphar's wife motif leads to him and his sister being cast into the sea in a chest (which is how he becomes founder-hero of Tenedos); and even when his father, recognizing his error, sails to Tenedos to beg forgiveness, Tennes cuts his mooring rope so memorably that to 'cut with the axe of Tenedos' becomes proverbial (surely a cultic axe in origin). Strangely, the story links the death of Tennes to that of Achilles, for Thetis has warned Achilles that the slaughter of Tennes will guarantee his own death at the hands of Apollo. Now Achilles can only establish his shrine (thus giving Tennes the same cult immortality that Achilles himself will have). It is a shrine in which the very mention of the name 'Achilles' will be forbidden.

Or there is **Troïlos**, enrolled amongst the sons of Priam, when not a son of Apollo. The fact of his death alone is recalled in Homer's single reference. Others tell us he was attractive, even loved by Achilles; and had he lived to the age of 20 Troy would have been invulnerable. But Achilles slaughters him at the temple of Apollo Thymbraios, on the very altar. This echoes the death of Achilles himself, who will be slain by Apollo (and Paris)

at the Skaian Gates of Troy. A more romantic tradition makes the connection even closer: Achilles, tricked into believing marriage with Polyxena is being arranged for him (and peace too), attends the temple of Apollo Thymbraios and is treacherously shot.²³ In any case, as with Tennes, the connection is made through Apollo between the death of Achilles' victim and the death of Achilles himself. He himself, of course, will die young, a mere *kouros* to be lamented by his mother – and the women of Elis.

Other males he slaughters include Akestor, a supernumerary son of Poimandros or of Ehippos, known only from the preamble to the passage of Plutarch above, and multiple sons of Priam. But females too are not exempt from his murderousness. There is not only Polyxena, sister of Troilos and his intended bride, who is sacrificed on his grave-mound, or Iphigeneia who herself must be sacrificed to marry him. For there is Penthesilea the Amazon too whom he slays in Arktinos' *Aithiopsis*. Amazons are a large subject of their own and here I can only pause to observe their initiatory style. They are young women with manly, warlike qualities, and so display a state of reversal appropriate to liminal rites. They and their leader 'Hippo' (a 'horse' name typical of initiatory girls and boys) perform a dance (and are thus an appropriate *choros*) around the statue of Artemis at Ephesos (a localization which is also the scene of Anthia's ritual). They are therefore a particular form of Artemis and the Nymphs [ch. 5.4], representing the dance-group of girls secluded for initiation. So it comes as no surprise that tombs of Amazons can be found all round Greece – they are simply tombs of the maiden appropriately coloured – or that Achilles is represented as having loved Penthesilea (compare Polyxena or Troilos), a motif wonderfully transformed by Arktinos when Achilles kills Thersites for suggesting such a thing!²⁴

5.3 *Who is Leukippos?*

One Leukippos is slaughtered, in the Tanagran myth, by his father, and in the process connected loosely with Achilles. But the name, like that of Achilles, occurs in several myths. Or is it fallacious to connect the myths? And must we assume that in the case of Achilles we are dealing with the same Achilles at different

sites, but that in the case of Leukippos it is a *different* Leukippos at each site? What, then, constitutes identity or difference of similarly named heroes in various myths? In the case of Achilles so individual is the formation of his name (philologists, after all, cannot agree on its meaning or structure)²⁵ and so famous has he become through Homer, as Alexander the Great complained, that immediately one meets an Achilleion one does not stop to ask 'Is this the same Achilles?' If he had been called Eurysthenes and bards had never formed the saga of the Trojan War, it would have been different. But Leukippoi are unsung. Their parentage too is various, though that in itself is not crucial: Iphinoë daughter of Alkathoös at Megara will turn out to be functionally the same as Iphinoë daughter of Proitos at Sikyon. So I shall make Leukippos singular by demonstrating a certain functional uniformity; then he can be compared with Achilles.

The variant name Ehippos can be set aside: it tells us nothing, appears only here in Greek myth and is rare in real life (even by the curious standards of Greek nomenclature, 'On a Horse' is a dreary name). Leukippos is the interesting name, frequently encountered in myth, but rather rare historically (the inventor of atoms is the obvious example).

With remarkable frequency 'White Horse' (such is its meaning) is the king's son.²⁶ Leukippos, son of Thurimachos King of Sikyon, becomes King of Sikyon in his turn, though he has no son himself. And Leukippos of Naxos also succeeds to the kingship; but he is the son of the original king of Naxos, Naxos himself, which means that the important view of him is not as a king, but as a son – though the needs of genealogists easily obscure this delicate focus. The focus is clearer in the case of Leukippos son of Eurypylos the King of Kyrene because he does not become king himself. Eurypylos like Naxos is an original king: he is the son of Poseidon and Kelaino and evidently came at the beginning of Akesandros' book *On Kyrene*. And his other son, Lykaon, has a scarcely less suggestive name. But neither of them succeeds to the throne: it becomes the prize for whoever will rid the land of a marauding lion and that is done by Kyrene – who takes us back to Thessaly, because she is the daughter of Hypseus, a (Thessalian) king of the Lapiths.

Leukippos founds colonies too, leaving his king-father and his homeland. King Makareus of Lesbos sends his son Leukippos to

found a colony on Rhodes. Another Leukippos, of unspecified parentage (we know no kings of Achaia) is sent by the Achaians for the joint settlement of Metapontion; there he tricks land from the Tarentines (unless he is a Spartan tricking land near the harbour Kallipolis from the same Tarentines). And there is Leukippos the founder of Magnesia on the Maeander. The story gives him Lycian credentials: his father is called Xanthios after the river Xanthos; his ancestor is Bellerophon and a Magnesian inscription refers unambiguously to him as 'Leukippos the Lycian'. This nationality of course entitles him to found Magnesia in neighbouring Caria, of which he is sometimes loosely said to be a native (and which Robert thought saga-ethnography could not distinguish from Lycia anyway). But it is Admetos,²⁷ King of Pherai in Thessaly, who sends out the colonizing party: they are a tithe of the population and they choose Leukippos to lead them in the foundation. This Leukippos must originally have been Admetos' son. To him 'also' is attributed the foundation of a place called Kretinaion near Ephesos (and he is duly made to have gone to Crete beforehand).

We are close here – despite some denials – to the prehistoric Italian custom of the *ver sacrum* ('Sacred Spring'). There, in times of distress and over-population, the young born in one year would be dedicated to the gods. The animals would be sacrificed, but the human offspring would be dedicated to a god and, when they grew up (at the age of twenty, Festus reports), they would be sent from their homeland to found a colony and never to return. The custom is alleged by both Dionysios and Strabo to have been practised also by Greeks. Our son Leukippoi are of the appropriate youthful age for this model of colony-founding; and the participants in the expedition of Admetos' Leukippos are indeed dedicated ('tithed', just like the Bears of Brauron, ch. 2.3.2.2) to some god.²⁸ The entire age-class presumably constitutes a 'tithe' of the *community*. The Greek colonizations which are the most familiar in the study of ancient history are only late examples of a practice with its own rituals and mythology which stretches back to Indo-European times (as the *ver sacrum* shows) and indeed as far back as agricultural societies had experienced land-hunger. Colonies are the extreme example for the 'Leukippos' who denotes the leading youth at the point when youth is separated from the father. More normally youth

just begins its own *oikos*, even if it cuts old ties 'with the axe of Tenedos'.

5.4 *Leukippos: initiation*

More startling stories are told of Leukippos. In the myth of the *Ekdysia*, a festival of Leto Phytie at Phaistos on Crete, Leukippos was said to have been born a girl and only at maturity, following his mother's prayers, to have been turned – by the grace of Artemis – into a male. The critical moment is when Leukippos lays aside his girl's *peplos*, whence the name of the festival, *Ekdysia* ('Undressing'). A direct reading of ritual from the myth, though dangerous, would suggest ritual transvestism of boys ending at a moment of undressing. In Phaistos we only hear of a rather diminished ritual, in which those marrying must first lie down by the statue of Leukippos, but ritual transvestism is known elsewhere: for instance, at Siris (southern Italy) we hear of fifty youths led by a young priest dressed as a girl. Transvestism is familiar in passage rites and is particularly appropriate for that ambiguous liminal stage preparing for the definitive differentiation between adult roles of male warrior and child-bearing woman. Eliade rightly speaks of 'l'androgynisation passagère'. On the other hand, we should not overlook a more basic fact of social organization, reflected here in both myth and ritual, that boys' initiation transfers them, as La Fontaine puts it, 'from association with women as children, to association with men as adults.'²⁹

Here too belongs Achilles on Skyros, dressed as a girl amongst the girls until he chooses the weapons which Odysseus craftily lays before him and, with them, the life of the warrior. Before this Achilles had been, like Poimandros (should it have been Leukippos?), avoiding 'The Trojan War', i.e. not participating in the life of the Warrior. The Dolopians of Skyros too must have had their *Ekdysia* and the tale of Achilles is its myth. And another such ritual surely underlies the story of Kaineus, of which ancient authors are reminded now by Achilles, now by Leukippos. Born a girl (Kaine/Kainis), in the first flush of maturity she has intercourse with Poseidon and her reward is to be turned into a man (invulnerable at that) so that he may as king of the Lapiths go and fight Centaurs. Kaineus is a Magnesians and

the story is sited at Gyrton on the banks of the River Peneus, around 13 km north of Larisa, delivering the location of the ritual.³⁰

The girl Leukippos of Phaistos is not alone: there is ‘another’, where ‘the similarity of the motif allows one to suggest he was originally identical’ (Kroll).³¹ This Leukippos is the son of Oinomaos King of Pisa (the land which includes Olympia). He has an inordinate affection for Daphne but cannot or will not win her hand in the usual way. He happens to be growing his hair long for the River Alpheios and this helps him to dress plausibly in woman’s clothing. Apollo intervenes jealously and there is a disrobing scene at the River Ladon in which all is revealed. This tale, discussed in more detail later [ch. 8.3], is another variation on the ‘Achilles in Skyros’ motif. Initiatory colours deepen with the motif of the hair to be shorn at the river: dedications of hair were made by brides at the tomb of Iphinoë [ch. 1.1] and are clearly appropriate for boys making the passage to adulthood too; and rivers are particularly closely associated with the growth of young persons and their entrance to maturity [ch. 6.2.3]. This is where the fact of Achilles growing his hair long for the River Spercheios fits, again matching the Leukippos profile. And the intervention of Apollo in Leukippos’ Daphne story recalls a motif stressed in the encounters of Achilles with Tennes and Troilos.

Inordinate love, at least in the Hellenistic elegist Hermesianax, dominates the tale of Leukippos the founder of Magnesia on the Maeander: he is driven into exile because of his love for his sister, a person as unavailable as Daphne. With the connivance of his mother he had consorted with his sister, until she was being wooed. All then emerges and conflict with his father and separation from the *oikos* ensue. This myth too reflects the association of the boy with the female side of the house before maturity and initiation, though the tale has been romanticized after the Hellenistic penchant for unhappy love and incest.

5.5 *Leukippos: distribution*

Aeolic and Achillean geography abounds in our tales of Leukippos. He leads a colony from Pherai (Thessaly) to Magnesia (near which was one of our Achilleia); he takes a colony from Lesbos; he is son of the ruler of Pisa, in which our

women of Elis beat their breasts for Achilles; he founds an Achaian colony at Metapontion – between Kroton, another Achaian colony, where more tears flow for Achilles, and Tarentum with its temple of Achilles. Other sites (Sikyon, Naxos) look rather parasitical, as though genealogists and local historians had acquired a feel for the deployment of his name from other, more authentic examples. Others again might just fall into the Aeolic fold, though it is touch and go: Kyrene may have distant Thessalian links. And if the Magnesian inscription claims Leukippos founded a Magnesia between Gortys and Phaistos, that must be because there was a Magnesia there – requiring explanation; so next to the Phaistos of the Ekdysia there was a place recalling Thessaly for its founders. And *Gortys* (stem: *Gortyn-*) has been seen as a form of *Gyrton*, where the comparable Thessalian story of Kaineus was told.³²

If on the other hand this is to claim that there were Aeolians everywhere and the claim has exceeded reasonable bounds, this staunchly cohesive Leukippos will have to be attributed no longer to the Aeolic inheritance, but – in times of even greater antiquity – to the common Greek inheritance. Then modelling initiand sons on a legendary king's son called 'White Horse' might easily antedate the second millenium BC; this, after all, is where the Sacred Spring points. Then one might be interested to know the formulaic epithet of Arjuna, the greatest fighter, the Achilles as it were, of the five sons of Prince Pandu who are the heroes of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*: *śvetavāhana* ('driving white (steeds)').

6 CONCLUSIONS: ACHILLES, LEUKIPPOS, AND IPHIGENEIA

Now finally we return to our question: is it reasonable that the Tanagran myth should connect Achilles and Leukippos? Achilles, like Leukippos, is a king's son who does not succeed to the kingdom. The focus is on the age of initiation into manhood and emergence into the adult world: the termination of death (in Pisa even with the involvement of Achilles' Apollo) sharpens that focus. Before emergence Leukippos can be amongst girls, like Achilles on Skyros. In sum, Achilles and Leukippos are both in the class of initiand youth, the same class that at Athens is dominated by Theseus, on whom the rituals of adolescent males

all converge. The real charge against the Tanagran myth is not that the two figures are incompatible but that they duplicate each other. But that is not without parallel: Tennes and Achilles co-exist, though Achilles slaughters Tennes; Troilos and Achilles likewise. And the god *kouros* Apollo, his hair for ever unshorn, looms over Achilles himself.³³ So Leukippos and Achilles appear in the same drama at Tanagra – and Leukippos is killed. This one is killed not by Achilles, but like Iphigeneia by his father. The father terminates his rash youth (rashness recurs amongst the maidens of myth) and, by a sort of compensating rhythm, recognizes Achilles and honours him. Achilles, the myth seems to tell us, replaces Leukippos: it is a significant surprise that the myth establishes a cult of Achilles, not of Leukippos. (Shall we remember that ‘Achilles’ is only the later, post-initiatory name given by Cheiron?) Our conclusion, then, can be expressed thematically as follows: the Tanagran myth connects the worship of Achilles with the separation of sons from fathers, dramatically expressed through the sign of slaughter.

Aulis, Tanagra’s Brauron, is only ten miles away. It gives Tanagra a cult of Artemis Aulideia, as Brauron gives Athens a cult of Artemis Brauronia. There Iphigeneia is brought to be married to Achilles, but (and?) is slaughtered by her father, just as in a distant relative of this family of myths another prospective husband had seen his bride slaughtered by her father Aristodemos at Mt Ithome in Messenia [ch. 2.2.3]. Marriage to Achilles is a dangerously genuine motif for Iphigeneia and for Polyxena. It is no romantic invention of poets.³⁴ Achilles, Leukippos, and Iphigeneia tread the path of initiation and death.

7 TRIBAL REFLECTIONS

Athens has been conspicuous in this chapter by its absence, and though in the previous chapter we found several illuminating parallels between the Arrhephoroi and the *Arkteia*/**Nebeia* rites, Athens itself strictly has no part in those rites. Athens is not an Aeolic city and it may be this tribal difference that ultimately accounts for its exclusion from the Achilles and Iphigeneia profile.

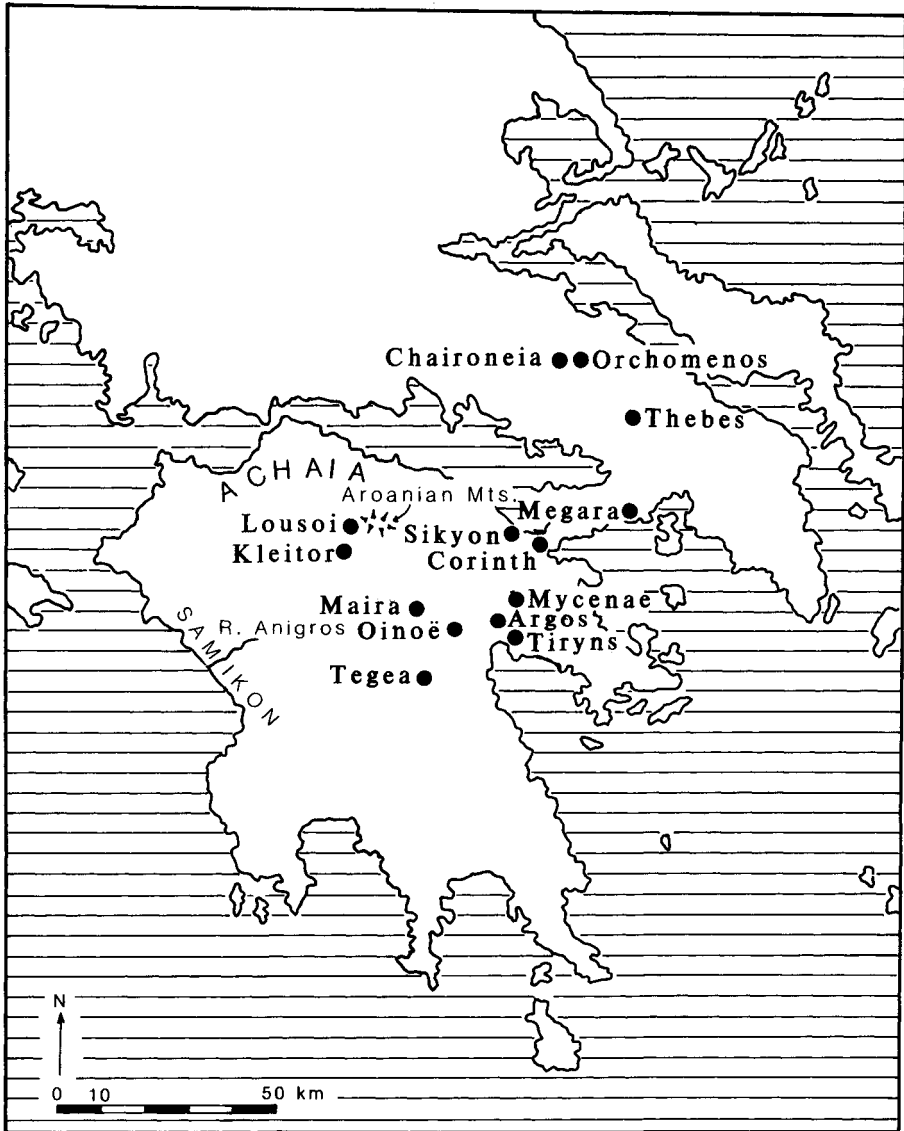
Artemis is for Athens a marginal divinity, not just in the sense that a marginal divinity is felt appropriate for those in transition,

but also in the sense that she has limited importance within Athens. There are no myths of Artemis at Athens, unless you count Agrai (just across the R. Ilissos) where 'they say Artemis first hunted' (Pausanias 1.19.6). Apollo too occurs in festivals at once rather tangential and yet distinctively Ionic, the Pyanopsia and the Thargelia, and does not have the centrality which he can assume in Thebes, Delphi, or Argos. On the one hand, the Pyanopsia and the cult of Apollo Delphinios do assign a role to Theseus, the Athenian Achilles. But on the other hand, the real initiatory festival of Athenian ephebes, the Apatouria, even if it is required to be held in the month Pyanepsion, appears to exclude Apollo, appealing only to Zeus Phratrios and Athene Phratria.

Our cultural isogloss connects Brauron with Aulis and Larisa. And even Theseus is specially connected with the north-eastern corner of Attica, with Aphidna and Marathon. Halai too, if a fairly obvious name ('Salt-works'), is repeated not only in Attica but also on the Boiotian coast half-way between Aulis and the R. Spercheios. Prasiai, a much less obvious name, which we saw associated with Achilles cult and maybe Aeolic population on the fringes of the Argolid and Lakonia (ch. 3.4), is also a once important harbour on the east coast of Attica a few kilometers south of Brauron, complete with a temple of Apollo.

Though Mounichia would need another explanation, it looks as though in earlier times the boundary between Boitia and Attica, often disputed in historical times, had not existed and that at least the eastern coast had formed part of a cultural continuum, which we have described for want of more precise terminology as 'Aeolic', and which stretched all the way along the coast back to Thessaly. And the real enigma is not the Aeolians in Minyan or other manifestations, or even the Dorians, but in fact the wayward culture of Athens and the origins and culture of the Ionians. The Ionians most certainly can have a role for Apollo and Artemis, but, equally certainly, can arrive late in the saga of colonization and absorb the culture of others. Does Greek epic, which clearly flourished in Ionia, really perpetuate *Ionic* traditions?

DEATH AND THE MAIDEN



Map 4 Proitids and Agriania

Chapter Four

TIRYNS: THE DAUGHTERS OF PROITOS

1 TIRYNS, ARGOS, AND PRIMEVAL KINGS

A five-year-old inquired whether ‘George Washington was the first man.’

(PUHVEL 18)

South now into the Argolid, almost the nerve centre of Greek mythology and certainly the cultural centre (so the pottery tells us) of Bronze Age Greece, when so much of the mythology was formed. In those times it was dominated by three great citadels: Argos, Mycenae, and Tiryns, each with its own traditions. And we begin with Tiryns.¹

King Proitos of Tiryns is a *primeval king*, comparable with Naxos the original king of Naxos or Eurypylos the original king of Kyrene. Traditions are often about origins and this is where we find the first king: far beyond the reach of genuine history, his function is to inhabit the times of legend, to do initial deeds of founding and inventing, and to commence the history of the nation. He is a fictional point of reference in the past for people of the present. Such is Kadmos, who founds Thebes and invents writing and metallurgy; and the fortified Theban citadel is called Kadmeia ‘after’ him. The Corinthians, inhabitants of a town with a strangely defective history, quickly borrowed Sisyphos from the obscure town Ephyre of the *Iliad* and called themselves Sisyphids. With Ephyre, ‘where Sisyphos was’, we can compare Sikyon, ‘where Adrastus first was king’; and ‘Neleian’ Pylos, the foundation of Neleus, tells a similar story.² Some of these traditions are late in our terms, dating perhaps from the end of the Dark Age; but others have a convincing aura of antiquity –

Erechtheus (with his doublet Erichthonios) of Athens, or Minyas of Orchomenos, or Danaos, eponym of the defunct Danaoi. The category is ancient.

Proitos, whose very name conjures up Greek words for 'before' and 'first', founded Tiryns; and his son Megapenthes was king in Tiryns after him, before he obliged genealogists by swapping kingdoms with Perseus. And we today can still see the mighty walls that the Cyclopes built for Proitos. Temples founded by him are, however, strangely scattered: at Sikyon, a temple of Hera and another of Apollo; at Lousoi (northern Arcadia) a temple of Artemis Hemerasia; and finally, on the mountain above Oinoë on the western fringes of the Argolid, the temple of Artemis Oinoatis. Tradition no longer preserves any founding activity of Proitos nearer home: did he build the temple of Hera at Tiryns (though the cult was established by a certain Peirans, whom we shall meet in Chapter 6)?³ But his daughters loom large in his temple founding. Maybe it was just the obvious embroidery to add 'that his daughters recovered from their madness here', as at the temple of Apollo at Sikyon. But the very scattering and marginality of the places, together with the prominence of Artemis, suggest that it is the daughters who are primary, not Proitos. Temple-founding is a role in which he is not indispensable and can fade from view: the foundation at the mountain Akroi in the Argolid, on the same occasion, the release from madness, is left for Melampous.⁴

Some sources would have us believe Proitos was king at Argos. 'Argos' is a treacherous term: in Homer, Strabo tells us, it means the Peloponnese, whereas in later poets influenced allegedly by Macedonian and Thessalian usage it just means a plain. The view of Drews (and of Busolt long before) is more radical: though 'Argos' had originally referred to the Thessalian Argos (which was indeed '*horse-rearing* Argos'), by Homer's time it loosely referred to the whole of Greece: 'For the bards of the Dark Age, "Argos" was heroic Greece, and heroic Greece included all those regions from which warriors were now claimed to have gone to Troy.' Even if 'Argos' stretches only as far as the Argolid, the picture is now clearer: Homer's Ephyre and Mycenae are each 'in a nook of Argos' and Hesiod's Melampous and Bias 'came to Argos to godlike Proitos'. And when Homer's Proitos drives Bellerophon, resident of Ephyre in a nook of Argos, 'from the

people of the Argives', he does not thereby disqualify Proitos from being the king at Tiryns.⁵

Later, however, Pindar is unambiguous: Argos has become 'the city of Proitos'. And similarly Agamemnon, King of Mycenae in Homer, though ruler 'of many islands and all Argos', has become king of the city Argos in Aeschylus. Partly Argos has benefited from a complex accidental process that Drews has traced: it has inherited materials that began in Thessaly and subsequently became common Greek property because of changing applications of the word 'Argos'. But it is also more sinister: Argos' cultural imperialism is the handmaiden of her military imperialism culminating after the Persian War in the destruction of Mycenae and Tiryns. Why is 'Tiryns' the *son* of Argos? Why is Proitos, founder of Tiryns, the *younger* twin (an awkward formula if ever there was one), and why must he be an *exile from Argos*? Why after all should not his brother Akrisios be an exile from Tiryns? The ultimate emblem is the removal by the Argives of the venerable pear-wood statue of Hera from the Tiryns they had obliterated.⁶

2 THE STORY OF THE DAUGHTERS OF PROITOS

Primeval kings often have no less primeval daughters – Erechtheus and the Erechtheids (Athens), Minyas and the Minyads (Orchomenos, Boiotia), Thespios and the Thespiads (Thespiiai, Boiotia), and Danaos and the Danaids (Argos, as we shall see). At Tiryns the original form of the story of Proitos and the Proitids is difficult to recover: two completely different stories have merged gradually and amalgamated in various ways.⁷ We start with the two versions which differ most.

2.1 *Bacchylides: daughters of Proitos*

Bacchylides tells the story of the Proitids at some length in a victory ode which he composed for the winner of the wrestling contest at Delphi – a boy from Metapontion (on the gulf of Tarentum). The theme of the exile of the Proitids in the Peloponnese reflects uncannily the tradition of the poet's own exile in the Peloponnese and suggests a date in the 450s BC.⁸ Proitos, ruler and founder of Tiryns, has a number of daughters,

who 'went, with still maidenly spirits, to the precinct of the purple-girded goddess [Hera]; and they asserted that their father was much wealthier than the blond consort [Hera] of august, mighty Zeus' (Bacchylides, 11.47-52). Hera now drives them mad: leaving their father's house and Tiryns, in the tenth year from its foundation, they run into the mountains 'uttering hideous cries' (alluding to their conviction that they have become cows). For thirteen months they roam thick woods, they wander in Arcadia. Finally Proitos himself appears:

When their father reached Lousos with its lovely waters, there he washed the skin [his? his daughters'?] and called upon the ox-eyed daughter [Artemis] of Leto of the red head-dress, reaching his hands to the rays of the horse-swift sun, to release his children from their miserable distraught madness: 'And I will sacrifice to you twenty oxen, unyoked, red-haired.'
(Bacchylides, 11.95-105)

Artemis hears his prayer, persuades Hera and ends their insanity. Immediately, they set up a precinct with altar, sacrifice sheep, and establish women's dances.

2.2 *Hesiod (A): Women of Argos*⁹

The second, quite different, story is found in Herodotus, a generation after Bacchylides: the women of Argos have gone mad (no reason stated) and the Argives wish to hire Melampous, the famous seer from Pylos, to cure them. For this he demands half the kingdom as his fee, but the Argives refuse. But more women go mad and they even agree to pay Melampous the increased fee he now demands: a third of the kingdom for himself and a third for his brother Bias. It is not said how or where he cures them.

The Hesiodic *Catalogue* had contained a closely related account, of which a battered fragment survives. Melampous and his brother Bias come to 'Argos', where Proitos is in charge; he gives them an allotment of land because Melampous has used his skills as a seer to heal some person or persons who had been afflicted with insanity by some individual who was angry – evidently a god. Which god? And who has been maddened? The temptation is to leap from the name Proitos to the supposition

that his daughters and the wrath of Hera are meant. But a different solution is imposed by Apollodoros, who at a point in his genealogical web precisely corresponding to this fragment of Hesiod gives the briefest of résumés: 'but when Dionysos drove the women in Argos mad, for a share in the kingdom he healed them and went to live there with his brother Bias.' So, in Hesiod too the god must have been Dionysos and those maddened were the women of Argos.¹⁰ The tale is told in a mere six lines to tidy up a genealogical loose end: the story is alluded to, not told. This is not an allusion forward 'to a tale we shall relate later in fragment 129'; rather, it is an allusion to a story that is well known to the audience at the time of composition from some other lay, which I now call the 'Dionysiac source'. Hesiod may even have added Proitos to the allusion by association with the tale of the Proitids that he would tell later.

Two other accounts, in Diodoros and Pausanias, are also embedded in genealogies. Neither accepts that the king is Proitos: instead, it is Anaxagoras (son or grandson of Proitos' son Megapenthes). And in Diodoros Melampous marries Megapenthes' daughter (Anaxagoras' sister) Iphianeira. This Argive detail could be a typical 'improvement' on Hesiod¹¹ by the early Argive genealogist Akousilaos (soon after 500 BC), but more likely is the original version of the 'Dionysiac source', from which Hesiod deviates. It is revealing that a genealogist can dispense with Proitos, because he must still consider *Women of Argos* distinct from *Daughters of Proitos*. In any case, an antiquarian copy of some such genealogist as Akousilaos must have provided Herodotos with the tale of *Women of Argos*.

These are different stories. In *Daughters of Proitos*, the principal actors are Proitos, King of Tiryns, his daughters and the goddesses Hera and Artemis. The story begins and ends in a shrine and is told as a foundation legend for the shrine of Artemis Hemera at Lousoi. But in *Women of Argos* the principal actors are Melampous, his brother Bias, a king of Argos (by whatever name) and of course the women of Argos themselves; Dionysos figures briefly. This story ends by changing the arrangements for the Argive kingship, because it is usually told as part of a genealogy tracing some claims to kingship in part of the Argolid to the distinguished outsider Melampous. It is true that madness is healed in both stories, but king's daughters (at the age

for marriage) are not *women* of Argos; and they are maddened by different divinities at different places. But the beginnings of contamination are present in Hesiod's introduction of Proitos (and the woolly 'Argos'), though its aberrance is measurable by the fact that Proitos is not subsequently *de rigueur* in the story. And given Argos' domination over Tiryns one can understand how two different stories could begin to merge.

2.3 Contamination: Melampous heals the Proitids

2.3.1 Hesiod (B)

At a later point in the *Catalogue* than the fragment already discussed, 'Hesiod' told *Daughters of Proitos* at some length, but in a form which includes features of *Women of Argos*. Proitos, ruler and founder of Tiryns, has three daughters by 'ox-eyed Stheneboia': Lysippe, Iphinoë, and Iphianassa. They are exceedingly accomplished and attract many suitors. But they slight Hera: maybe they asserted they were more beautiful than Hera; and maybe they did so by disparaging the ancient wooden statue of Hera (not a motif from the original cult myth in this form, as we shall see).¹² For this act of insolence¹³ they lose the beauty they seem to have boasted of and they are driven from their homeland of 'Argos' under the remarkable delusion that they are cows. Now they wander, mooing, across the 'boundless earth':

What is more, [Hera] poured down a dreadful itching about their heads; *alphos* [a leprous, whitening skin disease] gripped all their skin, and the hair fell from their heads, and their fine heads were bared.

(Hesiod fr. 133)

Hesiod's tale was told in some detail, then, but how did it end? With a cure by Melampous, according to the one report we have (fr. 131). Melampous, it seems (see the Appendix to this chapter), strikes a bargain whereby he gains the hand of Iphianassa and a share of the kingdom; he then placates Hera and treats the spring where they drink. So the Proitids are restored to their senses, though we do not learn where the cure is performed.¹⁴

2.3.2 Pherekydes

Pherekydes of Athens, maybe a contemporary of Bacchylides, told a similar version. A report of his account is embedded in a scholion on the *Odyssey*:

Melampous, son of Amythaon, performed many other marvels through his skill as a seer but the following in particular was his most celebrated feat. The daughters of Proitos, king of the Argives, Lysippe and [Iphinoë and?] Iphianassa because of their youthful thoughtlessness sinned toward Hera: they entered the temple of the goddess and mocked her, saying their father's house was wealthier. When for this reason they had gone mad, Melampous undertook definitely to cure them, if he got a fee suitable for the cure. By now the disease had lasted ten years [!] and was bringing distress not only to the girls themselves but also to their parents. After Proitos promised to give Melampous both a share of the kingdom and one of his daughters, whichever he wanted, in marriage, Melampous cured the disease, placating Hera through prayers and sacrifices, and took Iphianassa to marry, getting her as a dowry for the curing-fee [?]. The story is in Pherekydes.

Though 'the story is in Pherekydes', parts of it look like a précis of Bacchylides. So Robert concluded that the original endnote referred the story to two authors, to 'Bacchylides and Pherekydes'. Thus *Daughters of Proitos* elements might derive from Bacchylides and only *Women of Argos* elements from Pherekydes; the two would then be merged to form the scholion at a much later date. But if Hesiod could tell a 'contaminated' version, so could Pherekydes; he would then owe part of his account to careless recall of Bacchylides (the logical alternative to Robert's theory).¹⁵ To Bacchylides' *Daughters of Proitos* Pherekydes owes: (1) the boast that offends Hera; (2) the period of ten years, absurd here but in Bacchylides the length of time that Tiryns had been built; (3) the prayers and sacrifices (though by Proitos himself in Bacchylides). But Melampous, his new kingdom and wife are from *Women of Argos*, or the Hesiodic contaminated account.

2.3.3 The standard tradition

The 'contaminated' account of Hesiod/Pherekydes became the standard version, seen for instance in fourth century BC comic

poets, Alexis and Diphilos. The latter has some fun at the expense of *goētes* ('quacks', 'witch-doctors'), describing one of them after the manner of Melampous:

purifying the Proitid maids . . . and their father
 Proitos Abantiades . . . and an old woman (to make five),
 with one torch and one squill, all these bodies of mortals,
 and with sulphur and pitch from the roaring sea . . .

Diphilos fr. 125 Kassel-Austin

Diphilos has mischievously added the old woman to make Proitos look like the gullible superstitious of his own day, and the methods doubtless reflect the practice of fourth century charlatans.¹⁶

Several sites display the standard version. At Akroi (unlike Oinoë) Melampous performed the cure. And though he may be absent from Bacchylides' account of Lousoi, by the time of Pausanias it was Melampous who, with secret rites and sacrifices, brought the Proitids down from their cave in the Aroanian Mountains to be healed at the Lousoi Artemis shrine. The same cave, apparently, housed the spring mentioned by Eudoxos where Melampous purged the madness of the Proitids and restored their sanity – leaving the spring with the abominable property of rendering the drinker teetotal (and turning the madness Dionysiac?).¹⁷ Similar filth, according to the tourist story, was responsible for the foulness of the River Anigros in Elis. But no report is as direct as a bronze inscription found at the tomb of Iphinoë at Sikyon:

Here on behalf of the Proitid children Melampous concealed
 The disease-curing drugs for their mind-destroying madness;
 And the one child who died when they came here through the
 wrath

Of Hera, Iphinoë, this market-place holds.

(SEG 15 (1958) no.195)

2.4 Total contamination: Apollodoros

Even the infiltration we have so far seen is not the end of the process. For finally, in Apollodoros [2.2.2], we find an account which utterly and completely merges our two stories.

At first he tells *Daughters of Proitos* according to the Hesiodic standard. Proitos is ruler and founder of Tiryns and has Lysippe, Iphinoë, and Iphianassa by Stheneboia. These, when they grew up, went mad – either (intrusion from *Women of Argos*) because they rejected the rites of Dionysos, or because they disparaged the wooden statue of Hera.¹⁸ Becoming mad, they wandered throughout the whole Argolid, and moreover, passing through Arcadia and the Peloponnese, they ran through the wilderness with a total lack of decorum (Dionysiac?).¹⁹ Melampous, the son of Amythaon and Eidomene daughter of Abas, being a seer and the first discoverer of healing by drugs and purifications, undertook to cure the maidens.

So far, mainly standard, though the flattering introduction of Melampous indicates a source specially concerned with him. But now Apollodoros turns aside to the story to which the earlier passage of Hesiod alludes, and present in the ‘Dionysiac Source’: Melampous’ terms are one third of the kingdom, but Proitos refuses. So:

the maidens became still madder and in addition the rest of the women with them: the latter left their houses, destroyed their own children and frequented the wilderness [the plot creaks as *Daughters of Proitos* is forcibly combined with *Women of Argos*]. As the calamity was reaching an extreme, Proitos agreed to the fee demanded. And Melampous undertook to cure them if his brother Bias got the same amount of land. Proitos, being wary that if the cure was delayed an even higher fee would be demanded, agreed to the cure on these terms.

A final change of direction takes us to Sikyon and presents an extraordinary and striking scene:

Melampous, with the help of the most able-bodied [or ‘distinguished’?] young men, pursued the women with shouting and a sort of possessed dancing from the mountains into Sikyon. But during the pursuit the eldest of the daughters, Iphinoë, passed away.

Where does the Sikyonian ending come from? If we are right to attribute Melampous’ treatment of the spring where the Proitids drank to Hesiod (B), it does not look as though Hesiod can have drawn his account to a close at Sikyon as Vian supposes.²⁰ On

the other hand, this ending was well enough established by the fourth century, as we can see from the inscription from Iphinoë's tomb at Sikyon. In addition, the very presence of the name Iphinoë in Hesiod (B) must surely reflect the incorporation of her story in the Proitid saga: otherwise there would be no need for the Proitids to be individually named.

It remains only for Apollodoros to draw his story to a close, with elements from both main traditions: 'It so happened that the rest got purifications and returned to their senses. And Proitos gave them in marriage to Melampous and Bias.' Apollodoros does not notice that even in his account Bias already has a wife.

The development of these stories has been complex. In the beginning there were separate tales of *Daughters of Proitos* and of *Women of Argos*. *Women of Argos* was still identifiably separate when a genealogist, maybe Akousilaos, ignored Hesiod's Proitos and used the Anaxagoras of the 'Dionysiac Source'. In the beginning Iphinoë too (of Sikyon and Megara) was independent. *Daughters of Proitos* was originally told in Tiryns, but also at Lousoi. Thence it passed into literature. Melampous, as we shall see in the next chapter, originally had no place in the mythology of the Argolid, either in *Daughters of Proitos* or in *Women of Argos*, though the latter may have been his entrée into this mythology. *Women of Argos*, though known to Hesiod, was told at length only in the 'Dionysiac Source', either an ancestor of the Hesiodic *Melampodia* or even identical with it. And it already included Melampous because his was a name to conjure with. But later in the *Catalogue*, Hesiod had now involved Melampous in *Daughters of Proitos*. And the version Hesiod relates already contains 'Iphinoë', attesting a version (apparently not told by 'Hesiod') with the Sikyonian chase at a very early date. The merger of the two stories is a gradual process, making headway in Hesiod and Pherekydes, but unperceived in Akousilaos or Herodotos. It reaches completion only in the rationalization of stories by some Hellenistic authority or even Apollodoros himself.

3 INTERPRETATION

3.1 Contamination of myth or of cults?

Locations are central to the ritual interpretation of mythology;

and the encyclopaedic version of Apollodoros contains too many because the story has confounded a number of different rituals. Burkert has seen how a Tirynthian myth can scarcely have a Sikyonian conclusion; and Brelich saw plainly that the various sites for the healing of the Proitids must correspond to different cults.²¹ Sikyon, Tiryns, Argos – as well as Lousoi, Akroi, and Oinoë – had their various rituals which the mythology reflects. But this contamination of two stories may also unusually reflect some contamination in the rituals. This is more than an instance of the decay of myth, of myth losing touch with ritual and becoming ready for reworking by poets.

There are two fundamental problems, to an extent inter-related: differing age-groups and competing gods. Hera goes with the Proitids, but Dionysos with the Women of Argos. The latter makes some sense, because the ecstatic religion of Dionysos focuses on *gynaikes*, grown women, though not to the exclusion of the maidens – any more than the Thesmophoria honours the Mother but not the Maid. *Women of Argos* is evidently the myth for the women's festival of Dionysos at Argos, the Agriana, just as at the Agrionia of Chaironeia (Boiotia) *gynaikes* search for Dionysos. At Delphi too the evidence focuses on women: 'The Thyiads are Attic *gynaikes* who go to Parnassos every other year and together with the *gynaikes* of Delphi celebrate the rites [*orgia*] for Dionysos.' The restricted place of girls in these rites becomes clearer from a passage of Diodoros:

In many of the Greek cities Bacchic groups [*bakcheia*] of *gynaikes* form themselves every other year; and the custom is that the *parthenoi* may carry the *thyrsos* and join in the ecstasy, crying 'euhoi' and worshipping the god. But the *gynaikes* form groups to sacrifice to the god and to bacchant [= 'be possessed?'] and generally to sing the presence of Dionysos, imitating the mainads who history tells were in olden times the companions of the god.

The allegation of Hesychios' lexicon that the Agriana of Argos was held 'for one of the daughters of Proitos' would imply that the contamination was already present in cult. But Friedlaender did not take this entry too seriously, and perhaps we should not either, if the King Anaxagoras versions imply that *Women of Argos* was still independent of Proitids in historical times.

However, the myth of the Agrionia of Orchomenos (Boiotia) allows no such escape.²²

3.2 *The Agriania*

Our stories have often been compared with myth and ritual at Orchomenos. There the myth tells how the daughters of King Minyas, the Minyads, refused to join the rites of Dionysos; therefore they were sent mad and drew lots as to which of their children they should eat. Then, raving, they are pursued either by the other Bacchantes or, in Plutarch's version, by their husbands, who are dressed in black and called 'Sooties'. Finally, they are metamorphosed into distinctly literary birds of the night. In the ritual, those supposedly descended from the Minyads are pursued by the priest of Dionysos who wields a sword and technically is allowed to kill any who are left behind – though Plutarch adds that evil befell one Zoïlos who availed himself of this privilege. The name of the festival is, in Boiotian dialect, the Agrionia and it was perhaps in part performed on the mountain Akontion, which rose beside Orchomenos.²³

The version of Orchomenos displays the raving women we have seen at Argos; and the murderous way in which they are pursued (awfully demonstrated in the excess of Zoïlos) recalls the enthusiasm of Melampous in the Sikyonian story of Apollodoros and the actual death in that myth of Iphinoë (therefore guessed to be the Proitid honoured in the Argive Agriania in Hesychios' dubious entry). Strangely the conflict in age between maidens and matrons is now transposed into a tension in the depiction of the Minyads. As king's daughters they should be maidens, because a girl on marriage ceases to be A's daughter and becomes instead B's wife. This rule is obeyed by the Kekropids, Erechtheids, Danaids, Proitids, and Thespiads. But it is infringed by the Minyads (though, as Bremmer has seen, they still display adolescent traits), because they must be married in order to have a child to tear apart at the Agrionia, a women's festival (at which only *women* may sacrifice). They are joined in this infringement by the daughters of Kadmos at nearby Thebes: these, apart from Semele (a special case), form a set of three matrons (Autonoë, Ino and Agaue), married so that they may lead the three *thiasoi* of Dionysos and so that they may have Pentheus to tear apart.²⁴

Functionally, the Theban myth is close to the Orchomenian myth and it can only be the *aition* of the Theban Agrionia, preserved in such detail as Euripides chose.

The festival Agriania (Boiotian: Agrionia), at present thought to refer to the 'wild' (*agrios*) behaviour associated with it [but see ch. 9.2], is known in Boiotia at Orchomenos, Chaironeia, and Thebes, but outside Boiotia only at Argos. Yet there is a month named after this festival, Agrianios (Agrionios) which is more widely attested. Not only is it found throughout Boiotia (and also at Melitaia in Thessaly); it appears too at Sparta, Messene and Epidauros on the Dorian mainland; at Kalymna, Kos, Syme, Telos and Rhodes among the Dorian islands; and further afield at Olos (Crete) and Byzantium. Month names often have tempting, if treacherous, local or tribal distributions and the temptation here is to judge it Dorian (Nilsson loosely categorizes it as such), and then to attribute its presence in Boiotia to the West-Greek infiltration of the Dark Age. This would be especially attractive because it would allow us to think that the Minyads had originally been a Proitid-type story which later was swallowed up in a new, wild Dorian Agrionia, leaving tell-tale tensions behind; and at Argos similar circumstances would lead in historical times to the incorporation of Proitid mythology in the Agriania. This would be why Attica, free from Doric influence, never displayed the ecstatic religion of Dionysos.²⁵

Temptation must, however, be resisted. Eresos on Lesbos displays an escaped instance of the month-name, in gorgeous Lesbian–Aeolic dialect: Agerranios (they called Priam Perramos too). And on Chios and Tenedos, the woes of Pentheus are suspiciously recalled by the terrible Dionysos *Omadios* ('who eats raw' – flesh) for whom the wild women (it seems) used to tear a man apart. And if that is too slight, then compare with the myth of Orchomenos the account Seleukos gave of the origin of the name of the *genos* Homeridai in Chios:

Seleukos in Bk. 2 of his *Lives* says Krates was wrong in his *Sacrificial Practices* to think the Homeridai were descendants of the poet [Homer]. They were in fact named after the hostages [*homeroi*], when the Chian women, being out of their senses at the Dionysia, once started a battle with the men and ended it by giving each other as hostages brides and bridegrooms, whose offspring they call Homeridai.

This is no Dorian part of the world (Chios was even a late entrant to the Ionian group of cities): the battle of men and women in the cult of Dionysos, the male sacrifice and the month-name lead us back (with Graf) to an Aeolian Boiotia. One conclusion might be that this type of religion (and myth) displays a religious isogloss enclosing Aeolic with Doric/West-Greek, but excluding Ionic. But it may be that the Doric month-names are a mirage and imply no festival; then the ecstatic practices of Spartan and Argive women will need to be traced, not impossibly, to pre-Dorian strata. Similarly, the Aeolic connection might explain why Dionysos is 'ox-born' at Argos and can arrive with 'ox foot' at Elis.²⁶

In the chase and conflict between the sexes, first one sex has the upper hand, then the other. The first tableau is of a male victim and of terrifying women, triumphant in battle – a clear reversal of normality, Graf's *Ausnahmeritual*. They are slaughtering some man (Chios, Tenedos), even their son Hippasos (Orchomenos) or Pentheus (Thebes) – and surely, as Gruppe enticingly suggested, Megapenthes (Argos). Indeed, at Chaironeia they chase the poor god himself, who 'takes refuge' with the Muses. In the second tableau, the Chian men give as good as they get; Zoïlos, and the 'Sooties' before him, pursue the *Aioleiai* ('Aeolian women', in any case their wives) mercilessly; Melampous and the youth club of Sikyon pursue the women of Argos/Proitids with wild singing and dancing and in the process one dies (meanwhile at Argos the Agriania is (1) a feast of the dead, (2) in honour of one of the Proitids . . .); and even Lykourgos, scourge of the 'nurses of Dionysos' in Homer, might, as Otto once saw, fit this bill – his ox-goad (bouplex) an instrument for driving women who have become Cows.²⁷

These resemblances have not sprung up spontaneously: they are the results of diffusion of an original myth-ritual complex. The rhythm implies that female superiority and *sparagmos* of the male, suspending the norms of civilized society, are the centre of the festival. But male pursuit restores the status quo. For society as a whole this is a new beginning apparently celebrated in a New Year ritual; Agrianios or Agrianios is often a spring month, corresponding for instance to the Athenian Elaphebolion and sometimes following directly on the month for Artemis ceremonies, Artamitios [cf. ch. 2.4.6]. But 'initiation too is a new

beginning', as Graf observes in this context, and ritual assertion of male domination is familiar in initiation ceremonies; so marriages are the outcome at Sikyon and the solution at Chios.²⁸ Thus the problem of conflicting age-groups can be resolved at the level of cult, in the religion of Dionysos, perhaps even with a movement from Artemisian seclusion to Dionysiac integration – a rhythm we shall encounter again at Patrai [ch. 8.2.2].

But the Proitids, uncontaminated, with no part in chases or in the ecstatic religion of Dionysos, do not belong here at all. The puzzle is their structural resemblance to the Minyads – a dilemma which perhaps can only be resolved by supposing that the Minyads and daughters of Kadmos had once been more regular maidens, on the path to marriage but that the development of more integrated festivals had led in turn to a more integrated mythology.

3.3 *Sikyon*

A chase across a mountain, terminating in Sikyon, unless wholly imported from Argos, would suggest a Sikyonian Agriania. And we cannot be surprised if a festival attested for Boiotia and Argos turns up in the intervening Isthmus. The tomb of Iphinoë may seem to call for a simpler, maiden's ritual, but an Agriania would give a context into which it (and the maidens) could be incorporated. The Proitids on the other hand, though they 'include' Iphinoë look adventitious.

In the chase, our attention is perhaps less attracted by the raving women than by the 'shouting and a sort of possessed dancing' used by Melampous and his troupe of *youths*. Rohde and others following him have seen in it a mythic prototype for actual homoeopathic cures used when Dionysiac madness allegedly swept through Greece in the Archaic Age. Undoubtedly singing and possessed dancing is used in many cultures by shamans and witch-doctors to effect cures and was so used in ancient Greece, notably by the so-called Korybants in Classical Athens. Literally understood, the Proitids are ill, mentally ill; and literally understood, Melampous effects a para-medical cure, because 'physic alone is not enough to cure melancholy'.²⁹ But the ritual significance lies neither in the field of real illness nor in the field of real cures.

Shouting and dancing by youths implies a dance-group, a chorus of the male age-group corresponding to our maidens preparing for marriage, of *kouroi*. To lead this chorus, to be its *exarchos*, would be the sort of distinction amongst one's contemporaries seen in the case of Anthia, supremely beautiful Kallisto, or *kambanji* [ch. 2.4.2]. This is the position Melampous reflects, probably having displaced a local figure [cf. ch. 5.3].³⁰ Using a ritual dance obsolete by the time of our sources ('a sort of possessed dancing' must explain a technical word used by the original author, the 'Dionysiac source'), they pursue a female group, denoted in Apollodoros by the maiden daughters of Proitos and Argive women in general. If the female group is 'mad', then they too are a chorus performing a corresponding wild and noisy dance. After the chase over the mountains, the female group is brought back from wild segregation into the civilized city. If this is an Agriania, attention has shifted to the younger participants, newly incorporated into the battle between the sexes. So it is that the chorus of men is one of youths, that Iphinoë can die (and become a prototype maiden), and the *exarchos* can marry the pick of the female group. And although Melampous' brother Bias is also intrusive and reflects no part of the original story or ritual [ch. 5.5.5], the logic of the myth tends towards group-marriage.

The tomb of Iphinoë is a firm Sikyonian cult location, which we find repeated 50 km away at Megara. At Megara she is the daughter of Alkathōös rather than Proitos, but, whether Sikyonian or Megarian, she dies whilst still a maiden – a specific and intimate link, because it represents the essential ritual significance of the Megarian Iphinoë. Varying fathers should not disturb us: Atalante's father is Schoineus in Boiotia but Iasos in Arcadia. At Megara Iphinoë's father is with good reason Alkathōös, according to Pfister, 'the Dorian national hero of the Megarians'. 'Dorian' I doubt, but 'national hero' is exact: Alkathōös is the eponym of the western Megarian citadel, in whose honour a festival, the *Alkathōia*, is held; he has a *heroön* in the *agora*; he built *inter alia* the city walls; he founded the sanctuary of Apollo Agraïos and Artemis Agrotera (Apollo was the chief god of Megara).³¹ Alkathōös is the primeval king; he is the Proitos of Megara and Iphinoë is his Proitid. The Megarian Iphinoë functionally corresponds to the Tirythian.

The oddity is that the Sikyonian Iphinoë is not the daughter of some founding father of Sikyon. Perhaps once she had been, until the influential version of the poets displaced an earlier figure (Adrastos – or was that just Argive propaganda, as the dictator Kleisthenes thought?). She is, in any case, the link (maybe together with the assumption of cow-identity) to the Proitids, whom the Sikyonians appropriated, but continued to think of as foreigners: the fourth-century inscription claims the drugs were buried in the agora but admits the children of Proitos ‘came here’. In historical times too Sikyon was susceptible to outside influence: the temple of Apollo, though associated with another initiatory rite, is none the less attributed to Proitos ‘because his daughters recovered from their madness here’; and Pausanias was told that certain bronze statues at Sikyon represented the Proitids although an inscription told him they were other women altogether!³² But the influence in this case goes back before Hesiod (where Iphinoë is already a Proitid) and maybe much further: Proitos appears away from his home at Lousoi too, where it is difficult to challenge his authenticity.

3.4 *The Cows of Tiryns*

What information have authors preserved about the Tirynthians? About their rituals, nothing. About their way of life, nothing. The reason is not far to seek: ‘If you go on from here and turn off to the right, you come to the ruins of Tiryns. The Tirynthians too were removed by the Argives’ (Pausanias 2.25.8). The Bronze Age remains tell us little about the religion of Tiryns (no Linear B tablets survive, only a few inscriptions on amphoras); a later temple to Hera has been found on the site of the Mycenaean *megaron* and we have references to the pillar-like pear-wood statue of Hera removed from the temple by the Argives.³³ The mythology is therefore a unique treasure.

It is in the temple that our story opens. It concerns girls who are as yet unmarried: the Proitids still live in their father’s home and, at least in Bacchylides, express their attachment to it by denigrating the wealth of Hera consort of Zeus (and protector of marriage). But they have by now completed their girls’ education: they have ‘grown up’ (Apollodoros), they are ‘expert in beautiful skills’ (Hesiod fr. 129.23), and they have suitors from

all over Greece (fr.130). Tiryns is by now ten years old (Bacchylides 11.59) and so, perhaps, are the girls – like the Bears or the *Arrhephoroi*; in any case they are classed as *kourai* (Bacchylides 11.42, 47, 109). So any ritual is for girls approaching marriage, and it takes place under the auspices of Hera at her shrine in Tiryns.

Now the girls provoke the anger of the goddess and suffer a matching punishment. How do they provoke this anger? Both versions point to the culture that developed in the Archaic Age: aspersions on Hera's wealth look tied to a religious culture where the wealthy temple displays the magnificence of the god; aspersions on a statue imply a statue failing by standards of realistic art. An earlier myth must have displayed their insolence in a different form, at which one can only guess. Yet perhaps Friedlaender was not far from the truth when he suggested that poking fun at a statue of Hera was part of the ritual. It would be easy to envisage the dressing of a tree-stump, pole, or pillar (and harmonious with religious depictions of the Minoan–Mycenaean age) to be the butt of ritual mockery and yet a dangerous source of the power that maddens.

The mockery leading to subjection to the goddess recalls the girl of Chapter 2 who pokes fun at a bear and the girls who must consequently become Bears. For if Attic girls can be Bears, and Thessalian and Aulidian girls Deer, then the ritual counterparts of the Proitids were surely Cows. This is the corollary of boys who become Bulls (Ephesos, Halai) or part of Herds of Oxen (Sparta) [ch. 2.4.2]; it is the implication of women of Elis who invoke Dionysos as a Bull [ch. 4.3.2]; and it is appropriate in the religion of Ox-Faced Hera, as we shall see in the case of Io. Our girls are expelled from the community as much by animal metamorphosis as by physical expulsion. But, with a striking sense of reserve, their transformation is into the largest and most valuable of the tame animals (with the possible exception of the horse – which supplies so many *-ippe* and *-ippos* names in our myths). Attic girls don the *krokōtos* somehow to fulfil the metamorphosis into Bears; just so, Tirynthian girls change audibly and visibly into dappled cows afflicted with blotchy white skin disease (*alphos*), using daub to white themselves out, for which there are Greek and ethnological parallels. Loss of hair is the mythic depiction of the ritual shearing before marriage which

we first witnessed at the Tomb of Iphinoë at Megara. At the same time, as Cantarella has observed, daubing and shearing make the Proitids, who have rejected marriage, repulsive; and it is from this repulsive condition to marriageability that the girls undergoing the rites must be brought.

Their behaviour meanwhile displays a ritual dislocation, or 'madness', comparable with the various forms of altered consciousness found in 90 per cent of modern societies and in particular with the ecstatic practices of adult women in the Agrionia. It perhaps shows the closeness of early medical writing to tradition and ritual that a pamphlet of Hippocrates considers mental problems to be characteristic of pubertal girls approaching the age for marriage. For him the physical analysis is that an obstruction traps blood in the womb, which then rises to infect the heart; but the symptoms are those of girls in the mythology – madness, insanity, jumping into wells, and hanging themselves. He denounces the dedication of clothing to Artemis 'on the instructions of seers' by those who escape this (literally) hysterical condition and recommends instant marriage instead. But in any case it can be seen that anomalous behaviour amongst our maidens was as expectable as fainting and the vapours amongst matrons of more modern times, and that myth and ritual exploited this market.³⁴

The girls are separated from the father's house of which they boasted in Bacchylides. They cease to be his *korai* [ch. 1.1], a difficult moment even when not viewed through the metaphors of myth, as is shown in a lament on the female condition by Prokne in Sophocles' lost play the *Tereus*:

when young, in our father's home
we live (I suppose) the most pleasant life any person can;
– ignorance always raises children joyfully;
but when we reach the intelligence of maturity,
we are thrust out and sold off,
away from the gods of our father and those who bore us.
(Sophocles, fr. 583.3-8 Radt)

In our earlier age, initiation mediates between childhood in the paternal home and marriage: the Proitids, expelled and newly repellent, are assigned to the liminal authority of Hera. During this period, they wander, from Tiryns to (e.g.) Lousoi. Service to

Artemis in the shrine of Brauron, though in the more feral shape of bears, looks genteel in comparison. Tirynthian girls are expelled from their city, living rough in the wilds until their time is over and by a rite of purification they can return to the community. Bacchylides speaks of the wandering as lasting '13 complete months', i.e. a calendar year. Yet we cannot literally read from the Lousoi myth into ritual: Tiryns to Lousoi is around 90 km across difficult terrain and we are not to imagine eligible daughters dispatched into the distant territory of men of other states, relying solely on their religious scruples. Wandering is indeed a characteristic form of segregation of initiands from civilized society, whose duration varies: Bremmer, in the case of boy initiands, cites modern examples of five days, fifteen days, and two years. Indo-European mythology has a habit of citing nine years for boys and separation of roving packs of youths for such a period may be conceivable. But at least in the case of girls I think it is safer to recur to Bremmer's principle [ch. 2.4.2], that myth exaggerates. The year of the Proitids' myth denotes a status lasting from one festival to the next, but any living rough is strictly limited.³⁵

Where did Tirynthian girls perform their closing ritual? Sikyon, I think, has no ritual connection with the Proitid myth; and Lousoi is too far. Can the ritual have ended, then, as Burkert supposes, at Tiryns itself? Maybe, but a role also needs to be found for the mountain Akroi, on which Melampous founds a temple of Artemis on the occasion of the purification. This temple, wherever in the Argolid it was, clearly did not service a population inhabiting barren mountain peaks: it was a site occupying a marginal position relative to the community using it, a site appropriate for suspended members of the community who had lost the status of maidenhood but not yet gained that of matronhood. On this model we expect a rite of release in the mountains somewhere near Tiryns, at a site like Akroi, conceivably Akroi itself. Meanwhile, on the western margins of the Argolid, playing Mounichia to Akroi's Brauron, the temple of Artemis Oinoatis (founded this time by Proitos) would be hosting similar rites, maybe for the inhabitants of Oinoë below (but was it ever populous enough?) or maybe more generally for the inhabitants of the western part of the Argive plain.³⁶

3.5 *Lousoi*

For Pausanias there was only a report ‘that Lousoi was once a city’, but it had been a place of adequate significance in the sixth century BC, when it could afford stone to build the temple of Artemis Hemera – though that implies a more than local economy. It was a place whose religious significance always exceeded its political significance and after its houses had been abandoned the Kleitorians evidently perpetuated the religious traditions of a place of which they had assumed possession.³⁷ It is a Brauron of northern Arcadia.

Bacchylides’ myth relates to two different rituals, one at Tiryns (of Hera, characteristically of the Argolid), the other at Lousoi (of Artemis, characteristically of Arcadia).³⁸ At Lousoi we see the release of the girls from their transitional condition. And although Proitos promises twenty unyoked cows to Artemis (11.104f.), appropriately in view of the unmarried Cow-maidens, cows are no more sacrificed at Lousoi than bears at Brauron (or, one imagines, deer at Aulis). The cult reality is visible in Bacchylides, when the maidens sacrifice *sheep* and there is a dance of the womenfolk (11.110-12) – as the ex-maidens are incorporated into their number?

Before their release at Lousoi, the Proitids were in a cave in the Aroanian mountains. That is where they fled when they became ‘mad’; and from there Melampous brought them down to the temple of Artemis Hemera. It is another wilderness rite: time spent in a cave, the wild counterpart of the civilized precinct. Caves are no unusual place to find initiatory cult practices (one may think, for instance, of the caves at Brauron and Eleusis [ch. 2.5.2] and of the cave of Cheiron where select Thessalian youths performed an annual ceremony) and this one is specific: it is the one with the spring where Eudoxos said the purification by Melampous took place. Water and washing keep recurring at Lousoi: the very name *Lousoi* refers to ‘Washing’ and in its vicinity there were numerous springs forming the water of the River Aroanios; for this reason Bacchylides refers to its ‘lovely waters’ (11.96). Indeed the temple of Artemis Hemera itself was equipped with a bathing pool in its precinct obviously for sacred use. On the mythic level, rites at a spring restore sanity, that is, end the Proitids’ misapprehension that they are cows. On the

ritual level, the distinctive appearance of girls undergoing the rite, blotchy white, is corrected by the washing forbidden during the segregation. The girls are brought from the 'wild' domain of Artemis *Agrotera* to the civilization of Artemis *Hemera* ('tame, gentle'), tamer of animals or of girls. Indeed there was a festival at Lousoi called the *Hemerasia*, which may once have seen the conclusion to our passage rite.³⁹

4 INTERLUDE: PROITIDS IN TRIPHYLIA?

South of Olympia, between the mountains and the sea, in the times of Strabo and Pausanias lay a coastal plain called (the) Samikon. Earlier, from the late third century BC there had also been a fortified city of that name – a mere fort in Strabo's time – and before that again, Strabo both states and argues, there had been a city called Samos (whence the name of the plain) situated on the landward side of a high hill. In this territory, near the city flows the sluggish River Anigros, whose foulness is attributed by the common source of Pausanias and Strabo either to an unidentified Centaur washing off poison from Herakles' arrows or to Melampous washing the Proitids or at least depositing their filth.⁴⁰

How seriously can we take this mythological information? Are these simply colourful alternative accounts for a local peculiarity which ancient tourists would enjoy? Further details add some substance. Near the river in the foothills is a cave associated with the river by its name, the cave of the Anigri(a)d nymphs. Near that in turn is a spring whose waters contribute to the unhealthy marshiness of the land before mainly adding to the Anigros. Bathing in the river, says Strabo, is a cure for various skin ailments: *alphos*, *leuke*, and scabies. Pausanias, reproducing the source more carefully, adds that one must first pray to the nymphs of the cave, promise a sacrifice, and wipe over the diseased parts of the body.

The combination of motifs is markedly reminiscent of Lousoi: a cave and a spring above a river reproduce its geography. The skin diseases are whitening diseases and *alphos* was attributed to the Proitids by Hesiod (fr. 133), whose cure at Lousoi (with following sacrifice) must have followed the pattern in the Samikon. Finally, our diseased person in the Samikon must pray

to the mythic representatives of the transitional class we are studying – nymphs who live in a cave as the Proitids did before Melampous ended their transitional condition.

We catch here, I think, a distant glimpse of a passage rite performed by the maidens of the lost town of Samos at the mountainous fringes of its territory. And we see faintly a closing rite – in all probability in honour of Artemis – performed by washing off white daub in the Anigros. It is, however, difficult to believe in the authenticity of the Proitids as the local mythology. Not only is their Tirynthian home too distant and the explanation of the foulness of the river too glib; in fact, the Proitids are redundant on the mythic level given the existence of the Anigris nymphs. Nymphs belong to one type of mythology, the Proitids to another. It would then be the case that the Proitid mythology had been applied not inappropriately as the local mythology – and maybe its rites too – faded.

5 PROITIDS: THE EXTENT OF THE MYTHOLOGY

If the Proitids are the daughters of the King of Tiryns, then all applications of the myth to sites outside the territory of Tiryns will be secondary. The territory of Tiryns may be understood as including Akroai and maybe even, at a formative stage, Oinoë.

Sikyon had been tied in various ways to the Argolid. In historical times it seems to have formed part of a religious league concerned with the cult of Apollo Pythaios and controlled by Argos. The tyrant Kleisthenes had changed tribal names and attempted to suppress the cult of the hero Adrastos in order to destroy the influence of Argos on Sikyonian culture, believing that Sikyon became part of the Argolid after the Dorian invasion. Yet the primeval rule of Sikyon by Adrastos, a temporary exile from Argos, seems to point to an earlier domination of Sikyon from the Argolid; and nearby Corinth too is thought not to have been independent in the Bronze Age but directly exploited from Mycenae.⁴¹ It could be as early as this that Iphinoë became a Proitid.

Lousoi too never alleges that the Proitids were Kleitorians or Azanians, or Arcadians of any sort. The conclusion is inevitable: the ritual and myth of Lousoi require at the foundation stage a population who saw Tiryns as home. In a general way Tiryns may

have had some sway over eastern Arcadia: Proitos' wife Stheneboia is daughter of Apheidas, who personifies that division of Arcadia which includes Tegea; in that region too is the village Maira, named after Maira a daughter of one Proitos.⁴² But signs do point to actual population movements at the end of the Bronze Age. Tiryns declined (as Argos rose) and was burnt around 1200 BC. People migrated from the Argolid to the mountains of Arcadia and to neighbouring Achaia. This must be why the Lousoi version of *Daughters of Proitos* is unsullied by *Women of Argos*, just as Dorian dialect had not entered the speech of those Thessalians and Boiotians who colonized Lesbos and Asia Minor. Lousoi has links with Achaians: at Aigion in Achaia an inscription has been found interested in the Hemerasia of Lousoi; and the cult of Artemis Hemera at Metapontion in southern Italy – which occasioned Bacchylides to tell of the Proitids at Lousoi in the first place – must have been brought by Achaian colonists. These Italian Greeks were maintaining a continuous tradition from the Tiryns of the Bronze Age.⁴³

APPENDIX: THE CURE OF THE PROITIDS: WHAT HESIOD SAID

'The Proitids filled . . .':

The daughters of Proitos, King of the Argives. Hesiod tells us that there were born to Proitos and Stheneboia, daughter of Amphidamas [Aphidas? – Schneidewin's conjecture] . . . [a gap of one line marked in manuscript P] . . . and that they, because they slighted the majesty of Hera, were terrified by madness, believing they had become cows, and abandoned their homeland of Argos; and that afterwards they were healed by Melampous son of Amythaon *ita uti* . . . ['in such a way that . . .', 'on these terms that . . .']

(Hesiod fr. 131 = Probus on Vergil's *Eclogues* 6.48)

I ask two questions in order to reconstruct Hesiod's account of the cure: (a) how strictly reliable is Probus' report as a summary of Hesiod? (b) what is missing in the two *lacunae* in Probus' scholion?

(a) The commentary of Probus cites a wide variety of literature, much of it in Greek. Particularly impressive is the thirteen-page essay on *Ecl.* 6.31 which assembles with great care a large collection of philosophical opinions. Our passage is carefully written in indirect speech throughout and it would be out of character if Probus was not, as he purports to be, summarizing Hesiod throughout.

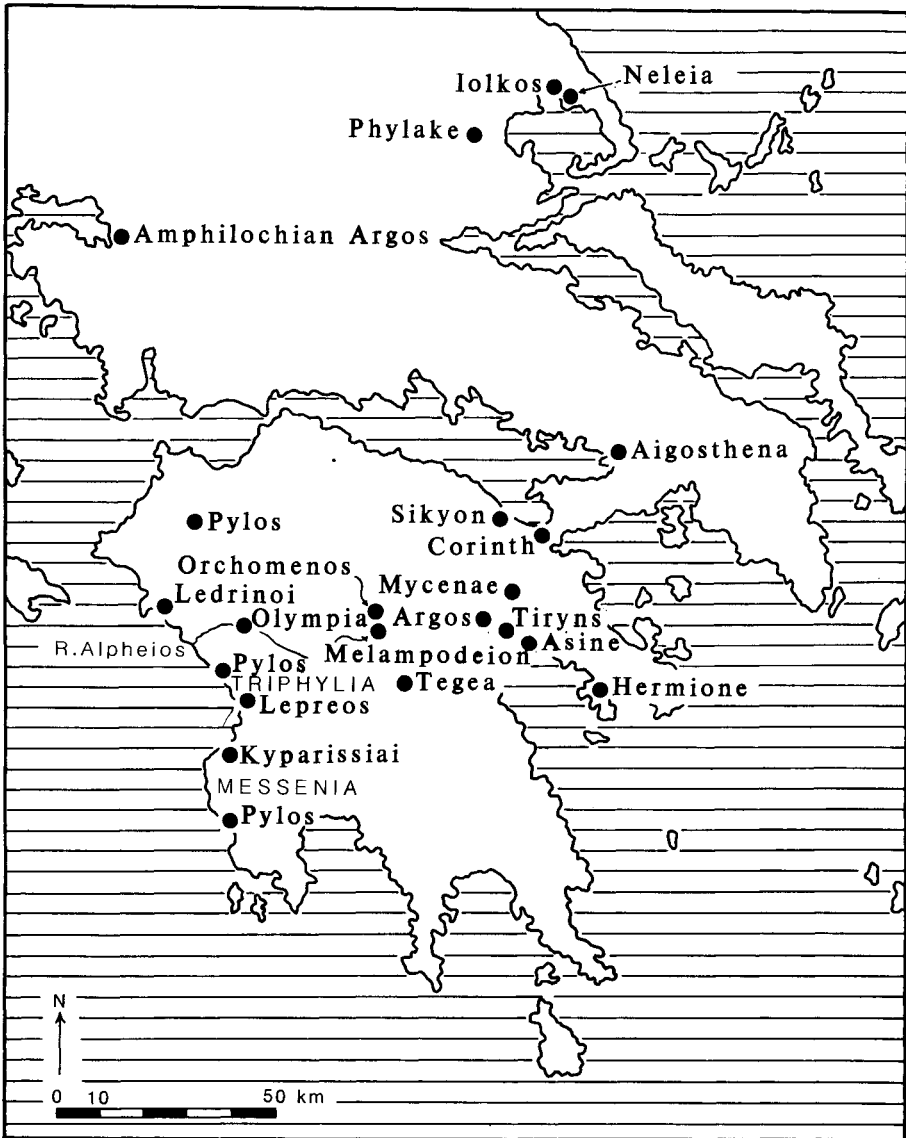
(b) This scholion is one of a family of scholia on *Ecl.* 6.48 (Philargyrius in Thilo-Hagen iii.117, Servius *ibid.* 74f.), of which the fullest is Servius Auctus. The various scholia are so similar that it is possible to assess from Servius Auctus what is missing in Probus. This then amplifies our knowledge of Hesiod, although the other scholia do not cite him by name. The account of Servius Auctus is as follows:

‘The Proitids filled the fields with false mooings’:

The Proitids were the daughters of Proitos and Stheneboia (or Antiope according to Homer), Lysippe, Iphinoe [MS: ipponoe] and Iphianassa [cyanassa]. As they judged themselves superior to Hera in beauty (or, as some would have it, though they were sacred officials they dared to take gold from her clothing for their own use), she was angry and put this error into their minds so that they would think they were cows and go off into the glades and spend most of the time mooing and fear the plough. But Melampous, son of Amythaon, agreeing terms that he should get Iphianassa as wife together with part of the kingdom, placated Hera and treating the spring where they usually drank cleansed them and restored them to their senses.

(Servius on Vergil’s *Eclogues* 6.48)

So, Probus’ first *lacuna* must have contained the three names (e.g. *filiis III, nomine Lysippen, Iphinoen, Iphianassam*). And secondly, at the end of the scholion Melampous’ terms and methods are missing (e.g. *postea a Melampode, Amythaonis filio, sanatas ita ut Iphianassam uxorem cum parte regni acciperet . . .*). The further details of the cure in Servius Auctus most likely figured in Probus too. And unless Probus misleads us about the extent of his reporting of Hesiod, Servius’ account (apart from the variants he marks as deriving from other sources) reproduces Hesiod. This is the real Hesiod fr. 131.



Map 5 Melampous

TRIPHYLIA: MELAMPOUS AND THE NYMPHS OF ARTEMIS

1 THE REAL MELAMPOUS

Who is this Melampous who has intruded upon the Proitids and the Women of Argos? For seers of historical times he is the real ancestor, or at least predecessor, that gives them their credentials as veritable Melampodids. This in turn has even led some modern writers into the trap of believing in his historical existence.¹ A more sceptical view is necessary: the purpose of genealogies is usually to increase the prestige of those who lay claim to them; and for the Greeks prestige is greater in times of legend than in times of history. So, the more important the ancestor, the more likely he is to be legendary and not really to have existed. Melampous is transparently legendary – otherwise he would hold little attraction.

The first problem we encounter, when looking into the origins and significance of Melampous, is the varying locations of his feats. On the narrative level this does not trouble us, because he is a *wandering prophet*. But when we move into interpretation and seek by mythic locations to identify the people for whom he was originally important, the question arises: is he a figure long familiar to many of the Greek tribal traditions, or a spurious (if charismatic) newcomer to all but one? And as with Achilles, we find our footing by recognizing that the hero has an undisputed home in the tradition: the city of Pylos – *Triphylian* Pylos.

2 TRIPHYLIAN PYLOS: NELEUS AND NESTOR

In historical times Triphylia is the central area of the western

Peloponnese. To the north is Elis, to the east Arcadia, to the south Messenia. The Triphylians feel affinity with the Arcadians, but are progressively taken over by the West-Greek Eleans. (Of relations with Messenia, thanks to the Spartan iron curtain, we hear nothing.) It had once been more distinguished and may have the best claim to be the kingdom of Homer's Nestor, making sense of the geography of Nestor's land and being 'sandy' to an extent unmatched by Messenian Pylos or indeed almost any other area of Greece. And its revered sanctuary of Samian Poseidon (north-west of Triphylian Pylos, near the coast), to whose upkeep all Triphylians contributed in Strabo's day, is surely the setting in Homer's *Odyssey* when Telemachos arrives in Pylos to find Nestor sacrificing on the shore to Poseidon at his festival. Triphylia is also the region inhabited by (Aeolic) Minyans which Herodotus records was devastated by the Eleans during his lifetime; they took the statue of Samian Poseidon too (like the Argives at Tiryns), but, adding indignity, renamed it 'Satrap'.²

The northern boundary of Nestor's Bronze Age kingdom, as of Triphylia in later times is the Alpheios, the largest river in the Peloponnese: Thryoessa in the *Iliad* is 'far off on the Alpheios, the last city in sandy Pylos'; but the Alpheios 'flows broadly [*i.e. near its mouth?*] through the land of the Pylians', which makes the land appear to extend further north. To the south, Messenia receives no separate entry in the *Catalogue of Ships* and 'Kyparisseeis' (evidently Kyparissiai in northern Messenia) is included with Nestor's entry, implying Nestor's kingdom ran further south than historical Triphylia. Conversely, by Pausanias' time Triphylia had lost all significance: it was merely the territory of little Lepreos, south of the Samikon, and was subject to Elis anyway.³

The primeval king, and founder, of Pylos is Neleus (hence Homer's 'Neleian Pylos'), who according to the genealogists came from Thessaly. Friedlaender is cynical: Neleus and his progeny belong in Pylos, but if for genealogical purposes he is to be tied to Pelias of Iolkos (so as to draw together Thessalian with Triphylian traditions and form a coherent system out of a miscellany), then he shall be born in Thessaly and 'compelled to migrate to the Peloponnese'. But the Minyai amply link Thessalian Iolkos with Triphylia, as we have seen in the case of tears for Achilles [ch. 3.4]: Neleus has not entered an alien

tradition, but rather the people who had once been interested in this faded figure have themselves migrated. Should we join Robert in associating Neleus with Neleia, the port (it now seems) of Iolkos? Maybe, though his name needs no place-name to explain it, if it is, as Palmer once suggested, a form of a name Nehe-lāwos ('he who rescues his people', found on a Pylos Linear B tablet), with the typical shortener *-eus*.⁴

Neleus' founding deeds and contributions to the landscape have perished even more utterly than those of Proitos. This cannot surprise us, as all Pylos' had been destroyed long before historical times. His son Nestor is more tangible, though we must recognize that something of Nestor's authority derives from having Neleus the founder as his father, a fact rendered just credible by his being the youngest son and living an extraordinarily long time. An earlier, local Nestor was probably a more regular king's son, like our Leukippoi, performing initiatory feats of rustling.

3 THE CHARACTER OF TRIPHYLIAN MELAMPOUS

3.1 *Melampous as notable initiate*

To win Pero, Neleus' daughter, the would-be suitor must first rustle the cattle of Phylakos (at Phylake) past a supercanine guard-dog. This Melampous tries to accomplish on behalf of his brother Bias, but he is caught and imprisoned, until, a year later, he impresses Phylakos with his understanding of the language of woodworm and is freed. He returns to Pylos with the cattle for Bias.

The myth is initiatory, as Walcot has shown. It is targeted at those who must be separated from the community for a year, live close to nature, and display feats of manliness (especially against other communities) before entering upon manhood. This presentation of the theme is specially appropriate at Pylos, where they seem to have sung songs of initiation into warfare by cattle-raiding (told of Nestor in the *Iliad*), keeping an ancient Indo-European tradition alive. Pylos too could be where Hermes drives the cattle he rustles from Mt Kyllene in a myth of which ours has been described as 'a variant'.⁵

This story relates Melampous to youths during initiation. We learn nothing of how girls must prepare themselves for adulthood, unless, as in the myth of the Proitids, girls may become cattle [ch. 4.3.4]. They too, in that case, would be confined or guarded for a year (like Bacchylides' Proitids), in temporary single-sex accommodation (like the women in their huts at the Athenian Thesmophoria) until they could be driven back to town by Melampous (like the Proitids of Sikyon), winning once more a bride for his brother. The remarkable convenience that the place where the cattle are *guarded* and Melampous is *imprisoned* happens to be called *Phylake* ('Guardpost/Prison') calls into question the connection with the actual place Phylake in Thessaly, a place-name which is not, in any case, unique: there was another *Guardpost* between Lakonia and Tegea at the source of the Alpheios. But the Thessalian connection may be too persistent for such scepticism.

Melampous seems more interested in winning a bride for his brother than himself. His altruism seems calculated to reinforce an essential sense of *brotherhood*. Here, if we think Greek, we should think not of *adelphos* as our term for brother but of *phrater*, recalling how at Athens boys on adulthood are enrolled in the phratry – a special sense of 'brotherhood' – and their wives will in due course be presented there. We may think too of the Spartan *kasis*, a brother-term also denoting membership of an age-class. In fact Greek seems to have struggled to maintain a word in its lexicon which would stay confined to what we mean by brother. 'Sisterhood' is of course displayed by the Proitids and Danaids and is an equal lexical problem. For them the term corresponding to *phrater* was *eor* – a word of such weak phonological shape that cult would be an ideal explanation of how it lasted long enough to escape oblivion by being recorded in Hesychios.⁶

3.2 *Melampous as seer*

A different picture of Melampous emerges at the Alpheios, northern margin of Triphylia: there he 'acquired the skill of prophecy by sacrificial victims; and, meeting with Apollo at the Alpheios, in future he was the best seer'. Marginal territory suits the liminal period of initiation. But it also is right for divine encounter in a way no everyday place could be. Now Melampous undergoes the initiation of a seer and has become more than just

exarchos of the *kouroi*: he is the prototype prophet from whom later seers will claim descent. On this fact the *Melampodeia*, their genealogical poem, is based. Yet this is the same Melampous who has rustled cattle: has there been contamination between two quite different initiations, or had leading initiate and seer been two aspects of the same role?⁷

Melampous' father is Amythaon, a figure more faded even than Proitos or Neleus: he has, as Robert observes, 'no story of his own', and in the whole of Greek art he may be depicted once. His name is real enough, being applied to a man in the Linear B tablets. Its formation too has recently been explained by Heubeck: Indo-European elements **sm-* and **yeudh-* assemble a word meaning 'fellow-warrior'. At the same time, Amythaon is the eponym of Amythaonia, a region near (Triphylian) Pylos and his name is therefore tribal. We may compare Ion (earlier, Iacon) and Ionia (Iaonia), where Ion is at once a tribal name ('Ionian'), a mythological character (in e.g. Euripides *Ion*) and a real man (a friend of Sophocles). Tribes doubtless liked to view themselves as warriors – the name of the Spartan tribe Hylleis seems to come from the same root **yeudh-*. If then Amythaon is the eponym of the **Amythaones* (like Danaos of the Danaoi [ch. 7.1], Melampous is the son of the founder of the nation, the primeval king, and his feats might be expected to focus upon initiation.

There could just be some tribal significance in the tradition reported by Pausanias that Amythaon held the Olympic Games (which presumably existed in *some* form before 776 BC) after Pelops and *before Neleus*. This reads like a claim of priority for the **Amythaones* over a tribe claiming Neleus as its primeval king. I think there is a real difficulty presented by the existence of two primeval figures, Amythaon and Neleus, and their cattle-raiding sons, Melampous and Nestor, in one and the same landscape. Regardless of the worth of Pausanias' tradition, the likeliest explanation is that they belong to successive tribal strata. The later solution is to award the progeny of Amythaon a specialism, the wisdom of prophecy:

The Olympian gave the Aiakids strength,
But perception [*nous*] to the Amythaonids,
– and wealth to the Atreids.

(Hesiod fr. 203)

Amythaon heads the priestly/prophetic line, whilst Neleus is left free to head the kingly line. The division in duties is rather too stark, but perhaps we should not overlook the possibility that kingship had once been not entirely a secular office (any more than it was in Rome) and that the Amythaonid mythology preserves and emphasizes the religious character of the king's son as a result of the continuing tradition of seers in 'Elis' after the disappearance of the kingship. Something similar may account for the story of Amphiaraos, a seer leading soldiers against Thebes [ch. 5.5.4]. More distantly, the combination of themes is recalled by the five youthful heroes of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*, who escape from a house that is destroyed (by fire, this time), rustle cattle, win a wife (one brother apparently winning her for another), and spend an extended period in exile, *dressed as Brahmins*. An Indo-European conclusion should be drawn.⁸

4 INTERLUDE: ARTEMIS AS LEADER OF THE NYMPHS

Before we plunge into the various Greek traditions of Melampous, I turn aside to an interesting asymmetry between boys and girls in the mythic depictions of the initiatory group and its leader. Melampous and the *kouroi* is one model, but a favourite female model is Artemis and the nymphs, something holier, which men if they are wise will avoid. There seems to be no male parallel: we do not hear of Apollo and male nymphs (unless we should count a transvestite Dionysos with his Satyrs).

In the Triphylian region we have already encountered the Anigris Nymphs [ch. 4.4], whose mythology must once have been of this type. But the nearest surviving initiatory myth of Artemis and her nymphs is found on the northern bank of the Alpheios. The mouth of the Alpheios as described by Strabo was clearly lush, moist feminine country (appropriate for girls' initiations, ch. 7.4.2): 'The whole land is full of shrines of Artemis and Aphrodite and the Nymphs, in groves generally full of flowers because water is abundant.' Here, eighty stades from Olympia is the grove of Artemis Alpheionia (or Alpheiousa or Alpheiaia) at Ledrinai (or Letrinai), the modern Pyrgos.⁹

The Alpheios had wanted to marry Artemis, Pausanias tells us, but realized she would not agree and planned rape. To combat

this, Artemis took part in an all-night festival in which the nymphs smeared everyone's face including her own with mud. As a result Alpheios, unable to identify her, is thwarted. A ritual is obviously depicted and Thomson, imagining an ascription of medicinal properties to the river, argues that 'this myth presupposes a secret rite in which marriageable girls went down to the river and assimilated the life-giving waters by smearing themselves with slime'. This somewhat Frazerian approach, with its recourse to a sort of sympathetic magic, does not do full justice to slime. The myth undoubtedly explains 'some primitive ceremony', as Farnell puts it, based on initiatory clay-daubing, which we have already met in connection with the whitened appearance of the Proitids [ch. 4.3.4].¹⁰

The first mention of this myth is by the poetess Telesilla of Argos (born c. 490 BC):

And Artemis, o maidens,
when she fled the Alpheos . . .

Telesilla is directing maidens in this poem, for whom the tale is specially appropriate: the maidens are nymphs to Telesilla's Artemis, because, like Sappho or Tyrtaios, she is evidently poet-educator to the (initiatory) age-class; indeed it may be that the anomalous existence of women poets in Greece (notably in Boiotia, Argos, Lesbos, but not Athens) is a relic of their initiatory function. This role is surprisingly reflected in a story fabricated, as Graf has brilliantly shown, as an *aition* for a cult of a warrior Aphrodite: here she is depicted as a poetess 'admired by the womenfolk' who leads the women of military age (!) against the Spartans – a cause unknown to Herodotos for the Spartan withdrawal around 488 BC.¹¹

The location of the myth indicates a ritual at the Artemis shrine at Ledrinoi, on the banks of the Alpheios. The river forms a margin, its mouth is another margin, and the area is specially sacred. Pausanias knows that Ledrinoi, like Lousoi, was once a town; and there is an annual festival to this Artemis ten miles away at Olympia too. The Ledrinoi shrine is clearly the primary one, repeating the relationship of Brauron to Athens and Kleitor to Lousoi and recalling the location of Brauron, Halai, and Mounichia next to the sea [ch. 2.4.3]. So Ledrinoi is a margin to which girls are sent prior to marriage. Part of their ritual will

consist in doing what nymphs do when they are with Artemis: dancing in flowery meadows and playing – but probably no hunting or deserted mountains for these nymphs.¹²

The *pannychis* ('all-night festival') is imbued with menace: the participants paint themselves out with mud in the blackness of the night – they are so marginal that they have ceased to exist. This is as fine an example as any to illustrate Turner's contention that masks, costumes, and daubings correspond to seclusion by rendering the neophytes socially 'invisible'. On the one hand their daubing corresponds to the *alphos* of the Proitids; on the other hand, its rather more annihilating tonality (obliterating the recognizable person) corresponds to death in the myths of Iphigeneia, the daughter of Embaros, or Iphinoë. In all cases the general function is the ending of maidenhood. But daubing is a transition: the daubed may be undaubed and enter the new condition. Death is too final: it involves the awkwardness of the category of 'near-death' or 'substitution' so that the story may go on. Water removes *alphos* at Lousoi. The participants in the Ledrinoi ritual must have cleansed themselves of their mud in Alpheios water. And given the sexual menace which that water had represented, this can only be viewed as submission. Now the girls are ready for marriage.¹³

The role of the river, as occasionally elsewhere in initiation rites [ch. 6.2.3], is central. The very name of the river, *Alpheios*, on the one hand relates to the skin-disease *alphos* from which the Proitids suffered and from which the river was said (like the Anigros) to bring release. On the other hand the root refers to whiteness, in contrast to an earlier name which an admittedly unreliable source alleges for it, the *Nyktimos* ('Nocturnal'). This pairing of names makes much sense when linked with our festival. A river called 'Nocturnal' during the nocturnal festival changes its name (so do initiates) as the initiates are incorporated into the community, because its properties have changed as a result of their washing themselves in the river. In a larger sense, this is a restoration, maybe, of the benignness of the river (such as we will see again in ch. 8.2) and the nocturnal festival points to the larger context of renewal of the whole community.¹⁴

The nymphs are the mythic representatives of our band of initiand girls. The word *nymphē* does not only apply to these figures of myth. It appears to derive from the Indo-European

root **(s)neubh-*, which gives for instance the Latin *nubo* and refers to marriage. The Greek word, however, uncomfortably for modern cultures, straddles ‘bride, young wife, young girl at the age for marriage’ (Chantraine) and logically denotes a person who has ceased to be a *parthenos* (‘maiden’) but has not yet become a *gyne* (‘married woman’). Group-marriage immediately following initiation would simplify the concept, but another answer may be, as we have seen in connection with dedications to Iphigeneia at Brauron [ch. 2.5.1], that the passage is not complete until the birth of the first child. So Nymphs reflect *nymphai*; but does Artemis reflect anyone other than herself? According to Lloyd-Jones, for instance, the answer is no:¹⁵ ‘as in myth Artemis has her entourage of nymphs . . . so in cult she is honoured by young girls’. In this case the real girls will dance in the imagined presence of Artemis, assisted by a statue. But alternatively Artemis may be represented by the leading initiate (like Anthia in ch. 2.4.4), the teacher-leader of the dance-group, or the priestess of Artemis.

5 TRADITIONS OF MELAMPOUS IN THE PELOPONNESE

We return now to Melampous, whose home, as initiate and seer, is Triphylia. How is it, then, that he appears in the traditions of other places? And in particular, how did he come to be involved in *The Daughters of Proitos*? To answer these questions we must look at the various pieces of regional information.

5.1 General, panhellenic data

Some reports about Melampous envisage a general Greek audience for him and contain no detailed Greek localizations. They are therefore panhellenic and not a matter of genuine local tradition.

Diodoros’ report that

A1 Melampous introduced the stories about Kronos, about the Titanomachy, and generally about the suffering of the gods

can only mean that there circulated in the time of Diodoros or of his source a *Theogony* ascribed to Melampous, in the same way

that others were ascribed to 'Mousaios', 'Abaris', and above all 'Orpheus'. And Herodotos' allegation that

A2 Melampous introduced the cult of Dionysos, and in particular the *phallos*-procession, from Egypt to 'the Greeks'.

needs to be viewed in the same light as a tradition about Orpheus that he 'showed us the rites and how to abstain from bloodshed'. In the latter we will understand that there circulated a book or books on ritual 'by' the wholly mythical Orpheus, entitled *Teletai* ('Rites'): such a work did in fact exist, though it was said, probably with reason, to be the work of Onomakritos (late sixth century BC). Onomakritos' book was specific to the Dionysos religion, and A2 refers to a similar poem 'by' Melampous, doubtless with the title 'Rites'. Such compositions, and an interest in Dionysos, were fashionable in the Archaic Age, but the Melampous poem must be relatively early – not, say, later than the sixth century BC, because 'Melampous was soon displaced from this sphere by Orpheus' (West).¹⁶

In the wake of the *Melampodia*, Melampous was a name to conjure with. His expertise in matters divine led to the ascription of expert poems to him. There is no special significance in a poem on *Dionysos* being ascribed to him. Dionysos was a special interest of the age and the (real) author; if, instead, they had been interested in Britomartis, then a *Britomarteia* would have been as easily ascribed to him. If there is anything more to it than that, it can only be that Melampous' expertise in matters Dionysiac had already been demonstrated by his cure of the raving Argive women. It would in any case be cart before horse to derive Melampous' Dionysiac cure from a supposedly pre-existing role as introducer of the religion – this is the last vestige of the historicizing theory.¹⁷

5.2 Arcadia

B1 Melampous cures the Proitids at Lousoi

– is a late contamination. Bacchylides tells the Lousoi story without Melampous, something unthinkable if Melampous figured in the Lousoi story in his time. Clearly the overwhelming

influence of the standard version is to blame. Equally unimpressive is Pausanias' report that

B2 he 'made' the altar of Athene Alea at Tegea.

– which displays Melampous the sixth century religious authority (influence of the *Melampodia* again) and should be compared with Abaris' 'making' of the temple of Korē Sōteira at Sparta (unless it was Orpheus instead!).

More serious is

B3 the Melampodeon ('shrine of Melampous'), at the boundary of (Arcadian) Orchomenos, Torthyneion, and Methydrion.

This is, in its way, comparable with the Achilleia we examined in ch. 3.4. It delivers a specific location for ritual, and though it is the only worthwhile Arcadian example, it appears at a point strongly evoking the Minyan cultural association with Triphylia: Orchomenos speaks for itself [ch. 3.4]; and Methydrion displays a temple of Poseidon *Hippios* ('Horse-' god), a cult which has been claimed to be of Minyan-Boiotian origin. So unless this is one of Nilsson's cases where the cult of a nameless hero has acquired a dignified name from influential mythology, it could be a genuine part of local culture – though not independently of the tribal culture of Triphylia.¹⁸

5.3 *The Isthmus*

C1 Melampous cures the Proitids at Sikyon 'when they came here' but Iphinoë dies. [ch. 4.2.3.3]

The Sikyonian Proitid story has resulted from an early merger of Iphinoë with the Tirynthian Proitids, though before that there may well have been an Agriania dance-cum-chase connected with the tomb of the dead Iphinoë. It is of course open to us to assume that Melampous had been part of a Sikyonian chase story all along, but as there has in any case been a remodelling of mythology at this site, it is more economical to suppose that Melampous arrived with the remodelling.

C2 MELAMPOUS THE GOD

- a. Melampous receives divine cult and has an annual festival at Aigosthena in the northern Megarid;
- b. maybe he is exposed as a child and suckled by a goat.

At Aigosthena Melampous is the name of a sort of god even to the extent of having people named after him and of receiving *thysia* sacrifices. But divinity is surely a late and local development: Pausanias saw a *stele* with a small man depicted on it, which would point in the direction of a grave and of more ordinary hero cult. And although a god-Melampous will assist reductionists in their quest to eliminate heroes from the face of the earth, it is difficult to envisage how the Melampous we know could have developed from the strange phenomenon at Aigosthena.

The situation is complicated by two further traditions. First the fourth century BC local historian Dieuchidas of Megara gives the only known – and rather inessential – explanation of Melampous' name: 'when she had given birth to him, his mother Dorippe exposed him in a wooded place and it so happened that his feet were blackened by the sun because they were not in the shade.' His exposure is unique to this account though it apparently accords well with coins of Aigosthena which show a child being suckled by a goat. But there is a different reason for the coin depiction: the name 'Aigosthena' refers to a goat ('Goat-strength'). Names including *aig-* are almost as common as the animals themselves. But Greek coins frequently identify their place of issue by pictorial reference to the town name: coins of Melos display an apple (*mēlon*), coins of Selinous display celery (*selinon*), coins of Phokaia display a seal (the animal, *phōkē*) and coins of Trapezous display a table (*trapeza*). Thus coins of Aigosthena display a goat (*aig-*) giving strength (*sthenos*) to a child presumably representing the community.¹⁹

If this is right, Dieuchidas' story is either unconnected with the coin type or ingeniously invented to connect a curious local cult with the distinctive local emblem (in which case the Dorian name of Melampous' mother, *Dōr-ippe*, looks aggressive). In either case, the view that Melampous 'war ursprünglich *theos patroos* von Aigosthena in der Megaris' is erroneous.²⁰ On the contrary, a hero-cult which acquired Melampous' name in archaic times developed its peculiar characteristics and mythology in the historical period. The Isthmus may be deleted from our enquiry.

5.4 *Triphylia*

- D1 Melampous is the son of Amythaon [associated with Amythaonia]
- D2 He is the ancestor of seers of historical times, in particular, the Klytiads of 'Elis', who practise at Olympia.
- D3 He becomes the best seer, meeting Apollo at the Alpheios.
- D4 THE WINNING OF PERO
 - a. He attempts to rustle cattle from 'Guardpost' [Thessalian?];
 - b. in order to win Pero, daughter of Neleus [primeval king of (Triphylian) Pylos] for his brother Bias;
 - c. he miraculously understands the language of woodworm;
 - d. he cures 'Guard's' son Iphiklos of impotence.
- D5 He derives from his friendship with snakes a miraculous understanding of the language of birds [no location].²¹
- D6 He cures the Proitids at the cave of the Anigris nymphs.

We have seen reason to dismiss D6, on the grounds that the Proitids duplicate the (more authentic) nymphs. The fact that Melampous belongs to the region has assisted the displacement of an original mythology of nymphs by a mythology of national renown in which he figures.

D4, *The winning of Pero*, is a coherent collection of motifs. The rustling attempt and bride for Bias have been interpreted above in the light of boys' initiation into manhood [ch. 5.3.1]. Understanding woodworm is an ingenious deployment in a new context of D5, understanding birds – a motif which finds a place in D4d; though, as initiation huts are frequently destroyed at the end of their use, collapse from woodworm is remarkably appropriate.

The impotence cure (d) is not an unconnected narrative to fill out a good story, since sexual potency is not a casual irrelevance for boys entering manhood.²² Let us pause here to view the tale, picking up Pherekydes' version at the point where Melampous, having understood the woodworm, has been released from prison. The prison warden

reported what has happened to Phylakos, and Phylakos in turn

to Iphiklos. They went to Melampous and asked him who he was; he replied he was a seer. They promised to give him the cattle if he found some means for Iphiklos to beget children; and they confirmed this agreement.

Melampous sacrificed an ox to Zeus and distributed portions to all the birds. They all came except one vulture. So Melampous asked all the birds if anyone knew a way of children being born to Iphiklos. As they did not, they brought the vulture. He immediately found the reason for his impotence: Phylakos, he said, had chased Iphiklos with a knife when he was still a child because he saw him doing something wrong; he failed to catch Iphiklos and fixed the knife in a pear-tree – and the bark grew around it; and his fear made Iphiklos impotent. So the vulture said he should bring the knife in the pear-tree, then scrape off the rust and give it to Iphiklos to drink in wine for ten days, because as a result of this children would be born to him.

This is what Iphiklos did and he recovered the strength of his seed; and he had a child, Podarkes. And he gave the cattle to Melampous.

Apollodoros' version is even more menacing when Melampous discovers from the vulture

that once Phylakos had been gelding rams and had set the knife down, still bloody, beside Iphiklos. After the child took fright and ran away, Phylakos fixed it once more [?] in the sacred oak.

A gelding iron is somehow more convincing in this context, but, whatever the precise story, it requires little imagination to conjure up 'some primitive rite' behind the story, given the detail of the ten-day drink. A ram is sacrificed and/or gelded. The witch-doctor prepares a supply of drink in which the gelding knife is swirled. For ten days at the initiation hut (Phylake) the drink of the novices is this ghastly brew.

Melampous, then, is ineradicable from Triphylia. The genealogists were clear that he came originally from Pylos and that his father was Amythaon (D1); no one claims it was otherwise.

5.5 *The Argolid*

- E1 WINNING A KINGDOM
- a. Melampous cures the Proitids at Akroi; or he cures the Argive women;
 - b. he wins a bride and a kingdom for his brother Bias and for himself;
 - c. he is ancestor to six kings in successive generations.
- E2 He comes 'from Argos' to found the temple of Apollo Pythaieus at Asine.

With the elimination of other areas (except maybe the Arcadian Melampodion) we can now see that the crucial task for the understanding of the Melampous mythology is to penetrate the relationship between data from Triphylia and data from the Argolid. E2 need not detain us: this Argive imperialist motif is sung by Bacchylides *at Asine* where for two and a half centuries, thanks to Argive intervention, only the sanctuary has remained in use – otherwise Asine is a ghost town.²³

There is something unsatisfactory about the E1 complex. Whereas the Triphylian D4, *Winning of Pero*, provided a folksy bundle of largely initiatory motifs, E1 gives all the appearance of having hijacked such a motif to prove something about genealogy. A first thought might be that 'the saga . . . of course has the aim of explaining aetiologically the later triple kingdom in Argos' (Pley). But when on earth was there such a 'triple kingdom'? All Argive kings predate Pheidon the tyrant-king and recede singly (not in trios) into the times of legend. Although Strabo records that Pheidon, tenth (others say sixth or seventh) in descent from Temenos, 'recovered the whole inheritance of Temenos, which had been split into several parts', the mythology was not created to justify fragmentation in that period: if so, the king of Argos in question should be not Proitos or Anaxagoras, but Temenos himself. That pushes the 'later triple kingdom in Argos' back before the arrival of Temenos and, as he was one of the Herakleidai, into pre-Dorian times. Now in Mycenaean times rule of the Argolid may well have been, at least at times, divided: in the *Catalogue of Ships* Diomedes holds Argos, Tiryns, Hermione, Asine, Troizen, and Epidauros, whereas Agamemnon

holds Mycenae with Corinth and Sikyon; and mythological distinctions between Akrisios at Argos, Proitos at Tiryns, and Perseus at Mycenae may reflect real divisions of power in the Mycenaean period.²⁴ But the E1 three-way division of power is superfluous for Mycenaean times, given the particular kings we have just named. And its lack of detail is staggering: *who was king of where? where did the descendants of Bias rule?* So it is inappropriate for Mycenaean times, for the age of the Temenids, and for historical times: it simply *has no application*.

The story is no less false on its own terms. The Argolid is divided into three unspecified parts. So for a period there should be three kings simultaneously. And at the time of the Seven against Thebes (the sole period, as I think Bethe realized, in which descent from the beneficiaries of the tripartition plays any role), the grandsons of Anaxagoras, Bias, and Melampous rule: they are, respectively, Iphis (brother of Capaneus), Adrastos, and Amphiaraos. But Amphiaraos is not much of a king (who were his people?) and neither is Iphis. The singular king of Argos and the Argolid at the time is Adrastos; the others are powerful individuals who can muster armies – chieftains or barons.²⁵ In fact, there is no reason to call *any* descendant of Melampous a king, let alone six men in successive generations.

So what is this impossible tale really trying to achieve? It plucks Melampous out of Triphylia and ties him to the Argolid by making him king. (The real Melampous would, I am sure, as Pindar whimsically imagines, have stayed a seer, stayed at home and turned down the kingship that was none of his business.) Now naturalized, he can be the ancestor to Argive seers, but in particular to Amphiaraos (inherited, or culturally kidnapped, from Boiotia), who can be dignified with heroic exploits and the title of ‘king’. *Cui bono?* It would benefit any archaic Argive seer who claimed to be a ‘Melampodid’ – because the best seers are, just as the best olive oil comes from Kalamata. At the same time, ‘Amphilochos’ can be made a son of Amphiaraos, and can be sent off to found Amphilochian Argos in Akarnania – where other Grade I seers come from.²⁶ He is a king, too. It is the descent of Amphiaraos and Amphilochos from Melampous in Argos that figures in the story when it finds its way into the *Odyssey* (15.225–48) and Bias and tripartite complications are notably eschewed. They are a late ‘refinement’.

E1 is a very mercenary tale complex. Brides are only valued for the kingdoms they bring with them. By contrast it seems in D4b that Bias was unlikely to obtain the kingdom if the tradition of Neleus having male heirs is, as one would suppose, ancient. None the less the motif of Melampous' acting on his brother's behalf is duplicated in the Argive story, if rather undermined by Melampous' acting on his own behalf too (*and* in the first instance).

Is there anything irreducibly Argive in these traditions? Clearly several names of Argive kings and heroes will have genuine (though mostly separate, unsystematized) traditions. Clearly the tale of the Proitids of Tiryns is 'local' material. The raving Argive women, though their tale is de-emphasized and thinly told, are protected by the presence of the Agriania festival at Argos. Proitids could already have been conflated with the Agriania in myth and ritual, given that the Agriania was held 'for one of Proitos' daughters', though the continuing independence of the *Women of Argos* story tells against this view. On the other hand, Bias is late; and Melampous' Elean/Triphylian origins are the very reason for E1 to be constructed: to be imported he must be of foreign origin.

6 THE VALUE OF MELAMPOUS

So the local traditions of Melampous, with the exception maybe of the Arcadian Melampodeon, have shallow roots. A remarkable figure of Triphylian legend has gained wider currency in the period leading up to the sixth century BC, largely as a result of the propaganda value of the *Melampodia* in the hands of professional seers.

Nevertheless, Melampous is neither in origin an isolated figure nor ill suited for his arrival in other traditions. The element black (*melan-*) in his name gives him a rich context of initiatory associations.²⁷ The Athenian ephebes wore black and the hero of their mythology, marginalized by his trickery and alien origins, was one Melanthos. The doomed hero of our initiatory romance in chapter 8.2 will be called Melanippos and the winner of Atalante's hand – in a race, by trickery – was Melanion. Here too, we shall see, belong the black sons of Aigyptos in chapter 7 (Egyptians, stunningly, will be *Melampodes*) and, for that matter,

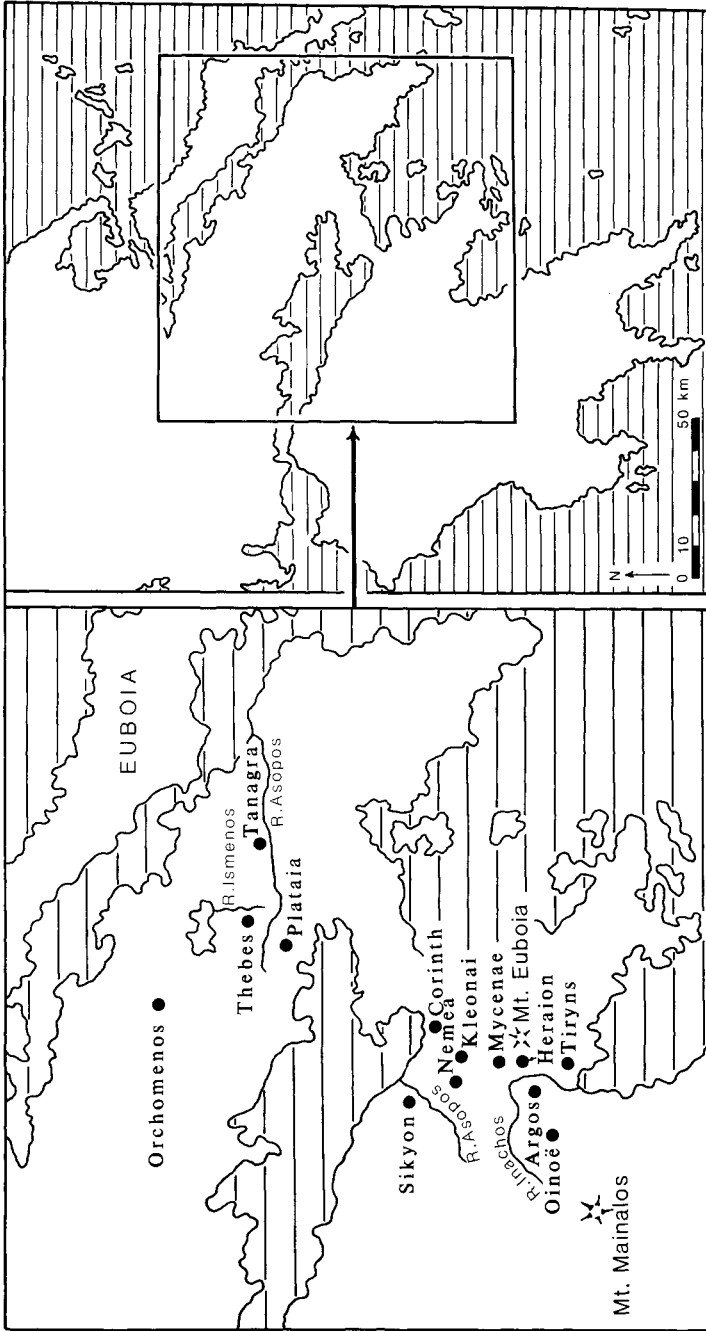
the 'Sooties' of Orchomenos. Melampous is the right name for the exceptional initiatory hero (though it is his magical skills that attract attention). He comes to Argos or Sikyon from outside, a foreigner, an alien, just as Melanthos is an outsider and the persecutors of the Danaids come from 'Egypt'. It is right that this outsider should lead the youths of Sikyon and shows a continuing sensitivity to myth that Melampous' pursuit of the Proitids should come so close by separate development, almost redevelopment, to the mythology of the Orchomenos Agrionia.

Possibly the most interesting feature of Melampous is that he is more than a mythological model or *aition* for youths in Triphylia. Just as female models tend to be king's daughters, so the male model is the king's son – singular because he should be the next king. Our myths, focusing on the transition to adulthood, concentrating on expulsions and even termination of youth, often present a hero who fails to become king. But whether Achilles, Hektor, Melampous, or any of the multiple Leukippoi, their strength and importance derive from the potential for kingship within them. The sacred is not far away from these sons: to found a city is to perform a sacred act and to secure worship after death; to be mourned at your tomb by successive generations is to receive honours somewhat more than human. Melampous is the extreme: he takes on the full regalia of seer. Though the broader initiatory mythology of Melampous draws in all those sons of the warrior élite who could join a roving band of cattle-rustlers, his role as supreme seer can only be of use to a specially selected person, a king's son or a boy priest corresponding to an Io or Auge [ch. 6.4.2]. The latter, however, are passive victims because king's daughters cannot succeed to the sacred and political power of their fathers: their reward is glorious motherhood.

From our modern viewpoint it seems at first a shocking disparity if marriage is to be a prime target for girls' initiations, but almost an accessory for boys' initiations. Yet this is to misread the real targets. Marriage is for both groups only a means, or a *sine qua non* at most. Without marriage, youths may for the time being fight well and even impress, but they remain youths, doomed like Hippolytos never to know Aphrodite. To become men they must be more than just warriors: they must be masters in their own house (*oikos*), an entity which can only be

established by marriage (and dowry) and confirmed by offspring continuing the family line (*genos*). Bachelorhood, like spinsterhood, though today they can be icons of independence (as their archaic ring declares), has no role in Greek mythology and ideals [ch. 9.5]. There are no single men except youthful heroes, and no single women except widows. The disparity is simply that men marry later, gaining time for youthful exploits, and therefore die sooner than their wives. Equally, for women, marriage though important serves to lead on to a yet more final target: the birth of the child. That, as we have seen [ch. 2.5.1, 5.4], completes the passage from maidenhood to womanhood. Until then, women are in the domain of Iphigeneia. So in both cases, the real target is the perpetuation of the household and, through it, of society. That is the sacred flame that Io's priestess will watch.

DEATH AND THE MAIDEN



Map 6 Io

MYCENAE: IO AND ARGOS 'ALL-SEEING'

1 LOCATION AND SOURCES

The Daughters of Proitos is not the only myth of maidens' passage rites in the Argolid. Nor is it the only one in which a maiden turns into a cow. The story of Io demands its place. But where precisely does it belong?

It originates, as we shall see [ch. 6.4.1], in that other Bronze Age centre which Argos destroyed in the 470s, Mycenae, whose last contribution to history was to fight against the Persian. The traditions of Mycenae have survived almost as little as those of Tiryns and are difficult to disentangle from others in the Argolid: Perseus was maybe its founder-hero (certainly the local inhabitants worshipped him at a shrine just outside Mycenae on the Argos road); perhaps the House of Atreus, if not that of Pelops, is authentically sited in Mycenae.¹ But Io shall be their maiden.

The original Io story is hard to discern. Surviving early versions are the work of tragedians: Aeschylus' *Suppliants* (463 BC ?) and the *Prometheus* (around 460-440 BC). Other early writers are only visible to us through Apollodoros: Hesiod, Akousilaos, Pherekydes – all familiar from the Proitids. Some shadowy, ancient poems too may have rehandled traditions about Io and contributed to the sources and statements we now possess. Akousilaos must have drawn on the *Phoronis*, an epic of around 600 BC (of which only a few fragments survive) which told how Phoroneus, the first man, invented fire and generally began civilization. And perhaps the 6500-line *Danaïs* had something to say about Io.² We have little of Greek oral tradition, even when it finds expression in the hands of systematizing and creative poets and prose-writers.

2 WHO WAS IO'S FATHER?

A case in point is the paternity of Io, where the traditions are in disarray:

Argos and Ismene, daughter of Asopos, had a son Iasos, who is said to have been Io's father. But Kastor the author of annals, and many of the tragedians say Inachos was Io's father. Whereas Hesiod and Akousilaos say her father was Peiren.

(Apollodoros 2.1.3)

This is no trivial problem: fathers are important for defining the significance of the heroes and heroines of our enquiry. Fathers are also the media through which genealogies convey their message. What, then, are these paternities trying to tell us?

2.1 *Peiren*

Peiren was Io's father in Hesiod. This statement must have been made in the *Catalogue of Women* and have led on to the story of Io herself. Akousilaos, as often, following Hesiod, goes on himself to Io's story. This Peiren must be identical with the Peirasos who in Pausanias is the son of Argos (I, not to be confused with Argos II 'All-seeing', the many-eyed guard of Io) and dedicated the ancient pear-wood statue of Hera at Tiryns. Apollodorus calls one of the sons of Argos I 'Peiras' and that too is what Plutarch calls the man who (a) first established the cult of Hera *Argolis* ('of Argos', or 'of the Argolid?'), (b) made his own daughter Kallithyia the (first) priestess; (c) made the statue of Hera from a pear tree from near Tiryns. Hyginus calls him Peiranthus. To all this we can add the verses of the *Phoronis* which, without naming her father, mention:

Kallithoë, key-holder [i.e. priestess] of the Olympian Queen,
Argive Hera, who with garlands and tassels
First adorned the lady's tall pillar.

And finally, from the end of antiquity, there is the entry in Hesychios' dictionary under 'Io Kallithyessa': 'Kallithyessa was the name of the first priestess of Athena [!]³

The name must originally have been **PeiraNS*, with a cluster at the end that was difficult for many Greek dialects, but not for

the inhabitants of *TiryNS*. And it surely contains that pre-Greek root for 'pear' which gave Latin its *pīrum* – implying that Peirans the Pear-man and his pear-wood statue of Hera were of considerable antiquity.⁴

Jacoby does not think Peiras and his statue old, because he makes a distinction between the statue mentioned in the lines of the *Phoronis* – merely a tall pillar, ancient and aniconic – and, on the other hand, the carved, iconic representation of Hera which Peiras made. On this basis, as iconic statues are later than aniconic [cf. ch. 4.3.4], the tale of Peiras' statue is later than the *Phoronis*, later than about 600 BC. This cannot be right: how could the *Phoronis* mention Peiras' daughter and stress the statue which she is first to adorn without also having Peiras make the statue (or introduce the cult)? Pausanias may indeed have seen an *agalma*, an iconic representation of Hera, but in more primitive times there may have been a more rudimentary cult object, perhaps a *xoanon* in the sense which Clement claims originally belonged to that word:

Other men even more ancient erected striking pieces of wood and set up pillars of stones: these are what they called *xoana* because some of the material had been 'stripped off'. Certainly in Ikaros the statue of Artemis was wood which had not been wrought, and that of Hera Kithaironia at Thespiiai was a chopped down tree trunk.

So a wooden *xoanon* originally need only have been a tree trunk of suitable shape with bark removed and tidied up. Later authors naturally conceive of Peiras' statue as more elaborate: Clement refers to pear-wood as its 'material' and Argos (!) as its 'maker', i.e. artist; Plutarch, citing Callimachus (for whom an aniconic statue is an 'unshaven plank' – *a-xoos sanis*) regards Peiras specifically as having 'shaped the statue of Hera'. But Plutarch gives the game away when he refers to Peiras 'cutting down a fissile pear tree from the trees about Tiryns'.⁵ The aniconic pillar of the *Phoronis*, then, does not exclude the role of Peirans: the ancient myth must have told how Peirans the Pear-man selected a special pear tree to be chopped down and trimmed so that it might be the aniconic statue of Hera in the cult he was founding. His daughter Kallithyia was to be the first priestess and she first decorated the tree trunk, just as women did in the cult of Dionysos.

Peiras is irreducibly Tirynthian: his tree comes from Tiryns and the statue will be dedicated there. He, clearly, founds the cult of Hera at Tiryns and his daughter Kallithyia is the first in the line of priestesses. Io has nothing to do with Tiryns and obviously is not Kallithyia. Io Kallithyessa is a compound. 'Hesiod' must have made the identification (and it must be him that Hesychios cites) though he was surely not the first to do so. This belongs with that aggressive genealogizing in the Argolid in favour of Argos. We have seen Proitos of Tiryns presented as the cadet brother of Akrisios of Argos and, maybe, the Proitids incorporated into the Argive Agriania. Presently, Melampous is acquired. And later again Agamemnon is removed to Argos. Now look at Peiras, the Tirynthian we thought, who turns out to be the son of an Argos – and his daughter Kallithyia who is none other than the of course Argive Io. And which cult did he found, that of Tirynthian Hera? No, that of Hera *Argolis*: and the renowned pear-wood statue (and pillar) is in the Argive Heraion to prove it, if only people would forget about Tiryns. Tiryns was only populated by slaves (or serfs) anyway – see Herodotos. This loathsome campaign is not the work of pseudo-Hesiods: it is the work of Argives. What we see, as Jacoby says, is 'the annexation of the Tirynthian Hera-cult and in general the subjugation of Tirynthian tradition to the Argive'.⁶ The campaign reached its logical conclusion with the destruction of Tiryns.

Already in the *Phoronis*, its antiquity supported by an aniconic pillar, the campaign can be seen in action. Kallithoë is the priestess of Argive Hera. To fit into the poem she must have been descended from Phoroneus – *via* Akousilaos' Niobe, Argos (NB) I, and Peiren. For all we know, Io may already be identified with Kallithoë. As for Phoroneus, this splendidly idiosyncratic culture-hero, 'father of mortal men', who first set up an altar to Hera, invented fire etc., he has his perpetual flame in Argos, has grave and cult in Argos itself, and even has his wife Kerdo's tomb in the agora. This is Phoroneus' home: Io, Inachos, Peiren have no monuments there (at least in Pausanias' guide). The picture of 'Hesiod', maybe a little earlier, is scarcely different: the *Phoronis* could be regarded as a special version of part of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*.⁷ By the time of the earliest remaining poetry Argive revisionism is complete.

Phoroneus has Inachos for his father, probably as early as the

Catalogue and the *Phoronis*; but first men don't have fathers. The solution offered by Pausanias, that his father is a river not a man, is delightful and may be right [cf. ch. 6.2.3] despite the difficulty rivers have in 'being king, naming the river after himself, and sacrificing to Hera' (the story of Inachos). Finally, before we abandon Phoroneus for ever, we should perhaps mention his daughter Niobe, 'the first (NB the Phoronic rhythm) mortal woman Zeus had intercourse with'. And Argos was her son, following the pattern by which Kallisto, daughter of Lykaon, bears Arkas ('Arcadian') to Zeus. A tomb of Argos and a spring called Niobe could certainly be found at Argos.⁸

2.2 *Iasos*

If Iasos is Io's father, he points us in several directions. In Apollodoros (and this is not Hesiod, Akousilaos, or 'the tragedians') he is the standard father of Io: Inachos and Peiren are mere alternatives. This Iasos is a son of Argos, apparently Argos II 'All-seeing' (with the result that the monster guarding Io was her grandfather!), but by a nymph that points us out of the Argolid altogether – Ismene, daughter of Asopos. True enough, there is a River Asopos that flows from the mountains north of the Argive plain northwards past Sikyon into the Corinthian gulf – but scarcely appropriately for the genealogical origins of Io and in any case 'Ismene' points to Boiotia and in particular Thebes. There an Asopos 'flows past Thebes, Plataea, and Tanagra'; beside Thebes is a hill Ismenios sacred to Apollo Ismenios next to a River Ismenos; and the name of Oedipus' daughter Ismene, which we know best from Sophocles' *Antigone*, had been one to conjure with already in the time of Mimnermos (later seventh century BC). Boiotian echoes recall Aeolic migrations, which would accommodate also the remaining River Asopos (apart from one in Paros) – in Herakleia in Trachis, near to Achilles' Spercheios.⁹

In Pausanias the sons of Argos I are Peirasos and Phorbas, Phorbas is the father of Triopas, and Triopas the father of Iasos (Io's father). These names take us to Rhodes and its vicinity, where Triopas is the eponym of Cape Triopion opposite Rhodes and the man who brought the first Greek inhabitants to Rhodes. Phorbas (though he too can be sited elsewhere, for instance

Thessaly) is a hero who freed Rhodes from a plague of snakes – it was once called *Ophioussa* ('Snaky'). To complete the picture, 50 km to the north of Cape Triopion (still in Caria) lay the town of Iasós, founded according to legend from Argos though not Doric like the later Argos. The pre-Dorian hint is valuable, because according to Diodoros the Greek colony which Triopas founded on Rhodes predated Tlepolemos, son of Herakles (i.e. Dorian), who arrived from Argos and 'with the agreement of the natives' took over. Iasos, then, is associated with pre-Dorian heroes who link Argos with Rhodes and its Bronze Age colonization from the Argolid [ch. 7.3.2].¹⁰

A final Iasos appears in Apollodorus as a son of Lykourgos, i.e. as a major Arcadian. He is the father of the Arcadian Atalante, a maiden of the *Arkteia* class [ch. 2.2.3] – the father of the Boiotian Atalante is Schoineus. His name varies between Iasos, Iasios and Iasion, because, I think, our authorities are playing a game with these rules: (1) Atalante is the 'Iasian maid' (as indeed she is); (2) guess what her father is called. Her story seems to play in south/south-eastern Arcadia: 'Mainalos' is her father in Euripides, and there is a town Iasos somewhere not far from Laconia's northern border.¹¹

As with Leukippos, we have varying instantiations of Iasos, a name unlikely to recur through mere coincidence. And perhaps a clue to its significance lies in a passage from the *Odyssey*:

Maid of Ikarios, intelligent Penelope,
If all the Achaians throughout *iason Argos* were to see you . . .

It is an old suggestion that *iasos* means 'Ionic', and one that presents some difficulty both in phonology and in application. Yet a tribal name of some sort would make sense of Homer's classification of Amphion, king in Minyan Orchomenos, father of Neleus' wife Chloris, as *Iasides*, and likewise of Dmetor, king in Cyprus. This too might explain the importance of the epithet 'Iasian' for Atalante, and the association with pre-Dorian strata in Thebes, Argos, Rhodes, Caria, and Arcadia. This context invites a new suggestion for the derivation of the name Io. Obviously the name is short for something fuller, but for what? Is it *Iasis*, *Iasiē* – the 'Iasian maid'?¹²

2.3 *Inachos*

Inachos is the principal river of the Argive plain. It runs within a mile or two of Argos, but crosses the road from Argos to Mycenae at a point roughly equidistant between Argos and the Heraion – a notable feature and amenity for all those living on the Argive plain. Rivers are the inhabitants of the land before the arrival of men and have a special place in the definition of local identity, for instance figuring as ancestors. And because moisture is visibly necessary for growth in a dry climate, rivers are particularly associated with fertility and with those growing up: they are *kourotrophoi* ('youth-rearing'). Hair was habitually offered to them and water for the bridal bath is brought from them (it was thought to promote offspring). Indeed the custom was to offer to rivers animals that were *enorcha* ('with testicles'). It is understandable, therefore, that, as initiation is about the allocation of civic identity and the perpetuation of the community, rivers frequently figure in the rites and mythology of youths and maidens.

So it is that Achilles was growing his hair for the Spercheios [ch. 3.2] and Leukippos of Pisa for the Alpheios [ch. 3.5.4]. The Proitids find release at the spring-waters of the Aroanios [ch. 4.3.5] and we caught a glimpse of something similar at the health-giving waters of the River Anigros with its Anigris nymphs [ch. 4.4]. At the same Anigros, though then it was called Minyeios, Nestor demonstrated his youthful valour [ch. 3.4] and we see Melampous grow into a prophet at the Alpheios [ch. 5.3], the scene also of a suggestive myth of Artemis and the Nymphs bedaubing themselves to avoid the sexual attentions of a river [ch. 5.4] which can even change its name in sympathy with the initiatory process. And Thespios, whom we shall presently encounter as a father of a regulation band of fifty daughters [ch. 7.4.2], was also a river in Boiotia and elsewhere. And that does not exhaust the appearances of rivers in our stories [ch. 8.2, 8.3]. But perhaps the most startling demonstration of this role is the spring rite in the Troad where brides bathed in the waters of the Scamander and called upon the river to take their virginity.

So there is room for Inachos to be there at the beginning of time, ruling, naming the river after himself, and sacrificing to

Hera, and for him to be father of Io, a maiden, as we shall see, performing the passage. Yet, as a river, he is rather impersonal (though for those practising advanced cosmogony he may become a son of Oceanus and Tēthys, and the less imaginative may call him 'Oineïdes' in virtue of his springs near Oinoë). And perhaps he is too easy for the genealogist to invent: he can father Phoroneus, if you wish, or Argos II 'All-seeing'. It may even be that his sacrifice to Hera reflects his transformation from a boundary between Argos and Mycenae to a revisionist centrality associated with the Argive Heraion, massively rebuilt by Argos to cement her control over the Argolid and whose staffing begins with Io.

Inachos is in his way an appropriate father of Io, but these difficulties perhaps mean that we should not be specially impressed by his title to Io, even if it is the favourite of the tragedians: I prefer the *lectio difficilior* – Iasos, faded almost beyond recognition.¹³

3 IO: THE STORY

Io is priestess of Hera. She lives in 'Argos' or the 'Argive land' and holds her priesthood at the Argive Heraion, as the contamination with Peiren and his daughter Kallithyia shows. The olive tree, too, to which Argos All-seeing bound her after Zeus had assigned her to Hera is to be found at the Argive Heraion – 'at Argos', 'in the grove of the Mycenaeans'. And the neighbouring Mt Euboia ('Good-Cow') must have had its part in the story: its coincidence of name with the island of Euboia leads to a mirage of references determined to persuade us that this eminent part of Greek legend in fact occurred on the island.¹⁴

In the Argive Heraion, Io, priestess of Hera, is seduced by Zeus. This episode is told in a slightly different way in the *Prometheus*: here her priesthood is elided, she is troubled in her very bedroom by soliciting dreams from Zeus; and her father is compelled by responses from oracles to cast her out of the house. We are left to suppose that Zeus has his way with her. The transformation into a cow follows without a break.¹⁵ The emphasis on compulsion and the unpleasant character of Zeus harmonize too well with the fate of Prometheus in this play: the playwright has altered the myth in these respects. But the motif

of being cast out of her father's home strikes, perhaps only accidentally, the right chord.

Zeus is found out by Hera and metamorphosis follows. Either (*a story of deceit*) Zeus turns Io into a cow and swears not to have had sex with it – and lovers' oaths henceforth proverbially have no enforcement (Hesiod); or (*a story of punishment*) Hera turns her into a cow. Its colour is white. The comedy of Zeus steals Io's story from her: deceit of Hera and lovers' oaths change the subject of our story. The original version presented the metamorphosis in more sober and more Io-centric surroundings, surely with punishment by Hera. Now the *Supplices* of Aeschylus envisages that Zeus approaches the Io-cow in the shape of a bull: shall we indulge in comparisons with Pasiphaë, thoughts of Europa, and reflections on how Sin the Babylonian moon-god coupled with a virgin (a bull with a cow)? No: the motif is redundant after the seduction; it is only found in the *Supplices*; and is specially designed for a question-and-answer session, to explain why Io was *not only* turned into a cow, but also guarded by Argos.¹⁶

The story does not supply Argos with a father: almost every authority has a different idea – including 'earthborn' (i.e. null parentage). He is a prodigious guard, regularly called 'All-seeing' (*Panoptes*), though the details of his construction vary. According to the poet of the *Aigimios* he had four eyes and Hera had given him the power of not falling asleep, but in Pherekydes 'Hera put an eye in the back of his head and made him exempt from sleep.' These simpler versions may be the earlier, but equally they could be more economical, more 'rational' versions of the idea found in Bacchylides (as it seems), Euripides, and elsewhere that he was actually covered in eyes. Particularly agreeable is the notion of Silver Latin poets that the eyes worked shifts.¹⁷

Now Argos is killed. It is a remarkable feat of the trickster Hermes, who cunningly throws a missile at Argos; in more refined authors, he lulls the monster to sleep by music and so can kill him. Either way, a sense is given to Hermes' epithet *Argeiphontes*: 'Argos-slayer'. Horrendous: the story has been hijacked again. Is the whole Hermes and Argos story an intrusion? Shall we agree with Robert that 'Argos and his killing by Hermes appear originally to have been an independent myth'?¹⁸

The etymology of *Argeiphontes* implied by the traditional story is not impossible. We cannot even rule out Kretschmer's suggestion that the Argos of *Argeiphontes* and a 'Bellerō' in *Bellerophontes* were major monsters troubling mankind whose slaying was a benefaction, comparable with deeds of Herakles or Apollo's slaughter of Python (another eponym, of Pytho = Delphi). Two local legends would then have been joined, using a convenient conceptual link between Hermes as cattle-rustler and Io as cow, with Argos now playing something of the role of Cacus or Geryon. But I doubt whether *Argeiphontes* had anything to do with the slaying of an Argos, any more than there was a Corinthian Bellerōs (as some scholiast supposed) for Bellerophon to be the *-phontes* of. *Argeiphontes* (or *Argiphontes*, whichever it is) has been interpreted variously and inconclusively: the conductor of souls might be said to *kill swiftly*; or the messenger of the gods might well have been thought to be the one who *killed with a [lightning] flash*. Whatever it originally had meant, poets interpreting it as *Argos-slayer* might well have found a suitable Argos for the trickster Hermes to have slain in an already existent many-eyed jailor of Io.¹⁹

For jailor he was: he tethered the Io-cow to an olive-tree 'in the grove of the Mycenaean' which was said still to exist 'at Argos' in the time of Pliny. This detail marks out the topography of cult and clashes with the implausible version of the *Prometheus*, according to which a clearly untethered Io, already afflicted by the gadfly, is watched over by Argos as she roams the (south-west) Argolid.²⁰

With Argos dead, Hera sends a gadfly to madden the Io-cow. Now begin wanderings of an extent both astonishing and impossible for the times in which the original myth was formulated. We find her in the IO-nian gulf, crossing the BOSporos ['OX-ford'], amidst Scythians and Kimmerians who, thanks to their incursions, played on the seventh-century imagination of Aristēas of Proconnesos. Ultimately she reaches Egypt, 'where she recovered her original form and gave birth by the River Nile to a son, Epaphos' (Apollodoros). This is, as West says, the response of poets 'to a world grown much larger than that reflected in the tradition they had inherited'. There is a peculiar emphasis on Egypt in our myth, which leads finally to Io's descendant Danaos needing to *return* from Egypt. At the

root of it lies, as Meyer saw, an identification of the bovine Io with the Egyptian goddess Isis, made when Greeks were still prepared to derive Isis from Io rather than (the later fashion) treat Egypt as the origin of all things sacred. This whole version of Io's wanderings is typical of the seventh century BC. Before then, Io's wanderings were probably just as exaggerated in terms of an earlier world-view: we remember after all how the Proitids roamed over the *whole Peloponnese*.²¹

The interruption by griffins and Egyptians obscures the original ending of the story. Io must have been transformed back and, if she was seduced by Zeus, then surely we must give credence to the words of Homer, 'Not without issue are the beds of immortals.' She surely gave birth to a son, just as in the late version she gives birth to Epaphos in Egypt. The name Epaphos is a curiosity: folk-etymology related it to Zeus' laying on of hands (*epaphao* = 'touch') to restore Io to human shape. Greeks may even have heard in his name something of the name of the Egyptian *Apis* bull, with whom they identified Epaphos, though this was scarcely its derivation. I think it goes back much further: it is, after all, a name no Greek of the historical period would have invented. This would vitiate the otherwise rather attractive hypothesis of Meyer that originally Danaos was the son of Io, making her the mother of the Danaäns just as Kallisto bears Arkas to Zeus and becomes mother of the Arcadians. But no source states that Danaos was the son of Io and I think we must, with Friedlaender, simply resign ourselves to the fact that we have no idea what stories were once told of Epaphos or accordingly any notion of his significance.²² In any case, we shall find that Io and the Danaids belong to different mythologies.

4 IO: THE INTERPRETATION

4.1 *A story of Mycenae*

The construction of the Argive Heraeum signified a shift of Hera's chief shrine from the city of Argos to a site located five miles away from the city . . . this was a remarkable building project; nothing comparable had been undertaken anywhere in Greece for nearly 500 years.

(Kelly 60f.)

The Argive Heraion is the scene of the Io story and therefore of any ritual associated with it. After its grand rebuilding by the Argive imperialists in the late eighth century BC, its users were clearly the Argives and the inhabitants of other cities of the Argive plain who were under their sway, notably Mycenaeans and Tirynthians. This too was the time when the myth of the Pear-man Peiras and his daughter Kallithyia was acquired from Tiryns and merged on site with Io. But whose was the Heraion before then?

Let us look at the olive tree to which Argos tied Io. Pliny, in the first century AD, relays a report that it still exists at Argos. Apollodoros, at a similar date, knows of this same tree: 'Argos tied Io to the olive tree which used to exist in the grove of the Mycenaeans.' 'Scarcely a trace' was to be found of Mycenae according to Strabo (he died c. 25 AD), and Pausanias (in the second century AD) saw only ruins; yet still Apollodoros' source regards the grove of the Argive Heraion as Mycenaean. Strabo himself, whilst stating that the Heraion was common to both Argos and Mycenae, classifies it topographically as 'next to Mycenae' – forty stades from Argos and ten from Mycenae; Pausanias approaches it from Mycenae and makes the distance fifteen stades. And in fact the route which led from Mycenae to the Heraion was considered so important during the Bronze Age that a large stone bridge was built to carry it.²³

The antiquity of the cult at the Argive Heraion has been denied. The massive terrace of the Heraion is not a late or sub-Mycenaean product as its apparently Cyclopean construction would suggest; in fact it is pseudo-Cyclopean and dates from the late eighth century BC. On this basis, Wright supposes that the cult too began in the eighth century, the time of the first evidence for cult at Tiryns also. This view attunes with the conception of Argos as a very small and insignificant village until the later eighth century BC [but see ch. 7.1], which then becomes a time of meteoric rise and frenetic activity. Such a picture is allowed by the evidence and is carried to its extreme, and conceivable, conclusion by Drews: for him traditional passages of Homer do not refer to the Peloponnesian Argos, but to the Thessalian Argos and from that base 'Argives' can refer to the generality of Greeks [ch. 4.1]. 'Argive Hera', though present in our texts of Homer, was for Drews unsung by Dark Age bards; and Hera's

expressed preference for Sparta, Argos, and Mycenae becomes as implausible in the case of Argos as it was already in the case of Sparta.²⁴

It is, however, too drastic to imagine that cult of Hera in the Argolid began *de nihilo* as late as the eighth century. Once more, as at Aulis [ch. 2.3.1], the problem is the failure of the archaeological evidence for cult in the Dark Age. Yet Io the cow and Hera the matching cow-faced goddess demand antiquity and a cult-site (as do the Proitids at Tiryns).²⁵ Moreover, the site of the Argive Heraion is inexplicable at the time postulated by Wright. It may (or may not) be the case that the chance discovery of Mycenaean burials in the Archaic Age led to hero-cult sited at those tombs. But such tombs scarcely lead to the cult of a goddess complete with a great temple. This is a problem Wright cannot resolve. In fact, the most obvious reason (and maybe the only available reason) for the building of the Argive Heraion where no one lived is because *it was already a sacred site*.

Cult at the Argive Heraion must go back to the Bronze Age. The construction of the vast temple terrace may have effaced evidence for an earlier period, and we may compare how at Eleusis, but for the foundations of the Mycenaean 'Megaron B', which happen not to have been removed, there is no evidence of earlier cult. In addition, the cult may have been as elusive to archaeologists as the maybe not so dissimilar cult practised in the Minoan sacred enclosures.²⁶ It had probably always been a cult of Hera. And being preserved at some distance from Mycenae, it was a specially holy cult and suitably marginal for initiatory ritual, rather like cults elsewhere of Artemis. Two miles is enough to mark the site as *separated* from the socio-political centre; and the crossing of the river marks the site as *beyond*.

4.2 Priesthood and the 'age for marriage'

Does Io fit the Iphigeneia-Proitid format? Like Iphigeneia, but unlike the Proitids, she is a *singular* model. Like the Proitids, but maybe not like an original Iphigeneia, she is the daughter of an ancestral leader (Iasos), not a priestly figure such as Embaros or Peiras – though we have already questioned whether religious functions can be distinguished from the kingship in these myths [ch. 5.3.2, 5.6]. Like Iphigeneia and Proitids both – crucially for

our interpretation – she is a maiden who has almost reached the age for marriage, as iconography sometimes underlines. But she is a priestess from the start.²⁷

Singularity of itself brings us closer to priesthood. Singular Io is already priestess; singular Kallithyia, daughter of Peiras, is made (?first) priestess; singular Iphigeneia will be (?first) priestess; Embaros at least claims the priesthood for himself and his descendants. What, then, is the difference between being a priestess and being attached for a period at the end of maidenhood to the shrine? In principle the entire age-class may be segregated for passage rites at the holy site (as the scholiast alleges for the *Arkteia*). Were they ‘priestesses’ at the *Arkteia*? They were clearly enough assigned to the goddess from the secular world; they were therefore *hierai* and it is a short step from there to *hierasthai* (‘to be consecrated’ i.e. as a priest(ess)) and *hiereus/hiereia* (‘priest(ess)’). But they were too menial to be so regarded: they saw to (*periepein*) the sanctuary, they were *therapontes* (‘servants’). But they are holy to an extent, because they are not an entire age-class but ‘select’ maidens. If now the selectivity is intensified and the maidens reduced to two, we come to the *Arrhephoroi* in the service of Athena: more sacred than Bears maybe, but still the word ‘priestess’ is ruled out – it is the Priestess of Athena, another, who gives them something to carry on their heads. Look now instead at the Locrian maidens, sent yearly to Troy to expiate the sin of Aias: if they escape death at the hands of the Trojans (and one suspects they generally did), they become ‘priestesses’, even though on examination it looks more like a one-year passage rite. And then in Sparta, at the shrine of Hilaeira and Phoibe, ‘girl maidens are priestesses to them’ – called Leukippides like the goddesses themselves.²⁸

This brings us to the puzzling category of singular maiden priestesses. At Kalaureia (opposite Troizen) at the shrine of Poseidon ‘a maiden is his priestess until she reaches the age for marriage’. At the shrine of Aphrodite in Sikyon there was ‘a maiden holding a yearly priesthood: they call the maiden a *loutrophoros* (‘(bridal-)bath bearer’)’. At the temple of Artemis Triklaria at Patrai ‘a maiden used to hold the priesthood of the goddess until she was due to be sent to a husband’. At the temple of Artemis at Aigeira in Arcadia ‘a maiden is priestess until she

reaches the age for marriage'. There are similar examples of boy priests: an attractive, strong boy of good family is priest for a year at the temple of Apollo Ismenios in Thebes; at Aigion the priest of Zeus had been the boy who 'won at beauty'; at Elateia in Boiotia at the shrine of Athene Krania, a boy is priest for five years (compare the length of the *Arkteia* eligibility) and actually lives in the shrine, but the period must be so timed that it expires before puberty; and at the shrine of Athene Alea at Tegea a boy is priest for some period before puberty.²⁹

These priests are somehow related to passage rites. They cannot be priests in the conventional sense, because, as Pestalozza saw, they are too young and inexperienced to perform the duties standardly required.³⁰ We are confronted by some alteration or decline in the institution of initiation: the special sense of the post, best reflected in terms like *loutrophoros* or *arrhephoros*, has been lost and the post is assimilated, if not wholly satisfactorily, to the status of priesthood. The question, then, is why one person should be singled out and to this Bremmer presents an attractive solution:

. . . the adolescent priesthoods, in part at least, will have developed from this leading of the choruses by an older novice who mediated between the chorus and the god. When time went on the choruses which were once the main vehicle for Greek adolescent education disappeared, but their leaders remained . . .

The leaders of the age-class, as well as being those who 'won at beauty', would of course be the most distinguished: the mythology constantly cites princesses, just as the Vestal Virgins in Rome appear to occupy the place of the king's daughters [ch. 9.3]. On the other hand, I think it is not necessary to think of the authority of these special initiates as deriving from their being 'older': they are simply the élite, who benefit (on Burkert's *Arrhephoria* model, ch. 2.3.2.2) from the full version of the rites, expressed as holding some sacred office.

As the sense of initiation is lost, the perception of who is eligible for the sacred office changes. The immature are perceived as appointed because specially pure; but now, from

that point of view, old women past the menopause seem a safer and more competent appointment, as we can see in Diodoros:

In olden times maidens are said to have delivered oracles [at Delphi] because they are naturally intact and similar to Artemis . . . but in modern times they say Echekrates the Thessalian came to the oracle, saw the maiden giving oracles and, falling in love with her such was her beauty, abducted and raped her. But the Delphians, on account of what had happened, legislated that in future it should no longer be a maiden who gave the oracles but a woman over the age of 50. And she should be dressed in maiden's clothing as a reminder of the former prophetess.

A similar tale is told by Pausanias of the sanctuary of Artemis Hymnia near the Mantinean border of Arcadian Orchomenos. There a 'girl-maiden' was priestess until the Arcadian king Aristokrates raped her; subsequently they appointed instead a woman who had finished with sexual intercourse.³¹

These aetiological stories are scarcely reliable evidence for historical events, and there may indeed have been a category of old-woman priesthoods before transfers from maiden priest-hoods. But the psychology of the stories makes such transfers credible and at the very least they provide a way of associating an old-woman priestess in a close way with maidens. Much the same goes for the status of the lifelong-maiden priestess. The Vestal Virgins at Rome, who in historical times underwent thirty years' continence, may demonstrate the antiquity of the status; it could then be Indo-European. Yet they themselves may be another development from a no longer understood 'girl-maiden' para-priesthood [ch. 9.3]. In Rome they become lifelong virgins, whereas in Greece we find development in a different direction: according to Plutarch, old women perform their flame-watching function. Nevertheless, the status of lifelong maiden was known in Greece – in association with girls at passage-rite age. At the sanctuary of Herakles Charops at Thespiiai and Thisbe in Boiotia there is a lifelong-maiden priestess – because *one* of King Thespios' fifty daughters (the leader of the chorus?) refused sexual intercourse with Herakles.³² Another example is at the Argive Heraion.

Io, mythic priestess of Hera at the Heraion, should be the prototype for the actual priestess. Io is a maiden approaching the age for marriage, i.e. if a priestess at all should be so in our non-standard sense. But the priestess we know best at the Heraion is Chryseis, who was already at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War in 431 BC in the 48th year of her priesthood. She reached the 56th year of her priesthood in 423 BC, when, falling asleep watching a lamp (flame-watching again?) and seeing the Heraion destroyed, she fled to Arcadia.³³ I cannot prove she is a virgin . . . but she surely is.

So the lifelong-maiden priestess perpetuates in herself the condition of those who undergo the full passage rites – she is not just *aeiparthenos* ('perpetual maiden'), but *aeipais* ('perpetual child'); and the old-woman priestess either reverts to their condition or even historically derives from their 'priesthood'. The decay can go even further: at the shrine of Athene Alea in Tegea, the myth tells of Auge (daughter of a primeval Aleos), seduced by Herakles, giving birth in the shrine, cast out in a chest; but historically, though we find a surviving boy-priest, the priestess can even be a matron. There at least we find games, the *Aleia*, which are so typical a development from initiations, and there Auge is said to have been arranging nocturnal choroi, plainly known to the cult and maybe indicating a larger renewal of the community [e.g. ch. 8.2].³⁴ These are the choroi that the likes of Io and Auge once led.

4.3 *Io and the Proitids*

The similarity between the tales of Io and the Proitids has often been observed.³⁵ Both Io and the Proitids are maidens approaching the age for marriage. Both stories initially concern a shrine of Hera: at Tiryns the Proitids disparage the statue and look as though they should be in sacred service; at the Heraion Io is priestess. Both incur the wrath of Hera – the Proitids by disparagement, Io by being seduced by Zeus. The Proitids find their hair drops out and they are smitten with *alphos*, the white skin disease; they think they are cows. Io *is* a cow, a white cow. Such is their physical condition, but madness strikes too. Now both must roam until the end of their stories.

In no other Greek myth is a maiden turned into a cow, let

alone a white one. And these stories are based in centres only a few kilometres apart, just as in the case of the 'two' Iphinoës, of Sikyon and of Megara [ch. 4.3.3]. Coincidence can be excluded: there is a genetic connection between the myths. Either one derives from the other, or – more probably, as we argued in the case of the myths of Mounichia, Brauron, and Aulis [ch. 2.2.3] – they descend from a common source. In either case it is likely that the interpretation for which the Proitid myth is designed applies also (at least 'originally') to the Io myth. So we will suppose that a ritual existed at the 'Argive' Heraion, a precinct of Hera which gained a temple in the eighth century BC. A single selected girl, and maybe a chorus with her, would spend a period of time before the age for marriage at the precinct, cut off from the outside world. During that period she would be assimilated to the condition of a white cow and probably be known as the *Cow*, a sacred animal in the precinct of Hera recalling her male counterparts, the Bulls of Halai and the Oxen of Sparta [ch. 2.4.2, 4.3.4]. She would be daubed in white and/or dressed in white clothing like the *Arrhephoroi* of Athene at Athens and like a number of priests under special restriction. She would be like the Lokrian maidens in the service of Athene at Troy: 'they were shorn, single-tuniced, and unshod.' In this condition, her behaviour will be as carefully abnormal, deviant, marginal, even 'mad' as that of any Siberian shaman. At the end the goddess is satisfied by the rite and the girl has performed the dangerous transition from maidenhood, for herself and maybe for others. Times of transition are clearly felt as times of danger; and this danger is personalized through the motif of *Wrath of the Goddess*. Such, for instance, is the implication of:

Those about to be married are accustomed to *kanephorein* ['basket-carry'] to Artemis, for the *aphosiosis* [i.e. ritual satisfactory disposal] of their maidenhood, so that they do not become subject to her anger.³⁶

Mention of the *kanephoria* may be surprisingly apposite. We hear from Dionysios of Halikarnassos of a rite of Hera at Falerii (north of Rome) alleged also to be performed at Argos:

Holy [*hierai*] women look after the precinct and the *Kanephoros*, a girl pure of marriage, performs the initial rites

of the sacrifices, and there are dance-groups of maidens hymning the goddess in traditional songs.³⁷

This might just show what had become of the original cow-ritual at (clearly) the Heraion. It appears to have been normalized and brought up to date by the adoption of the *kanephoria* model, but a select maiden remains and the other maidens, in their dance groups, are associated with her.

Otherwise we hear very little of rites at the Heraion. Pausanias tells us of 'women about the shrine', tallying with Dionysios' avoidance of any more specific title, who use the water of the brook Eleutherios 'for purifications and those sacrifices which are secret'. Did this stream, like the waters of Lousoi, purify the maiden and release her from her bovine condition? Is that why it is called *Eleutherios*, the stream of 'Freedom' or 'Liberation'? A parallel might be provided by 'Eleutherai', a place to which were sent all persons who unwittingly entered the shrine of Zeus Lykaeos in Arcadia (and, Plutarch oddly tells us, became 'deer'). And a river name of good omen seems important for these rites both at Ledrinai [ch. 5.4] and Patrai [ch. 8.2].³⁸

5 THE SENSE OF ARGOS

What exactly does Argos 'All-seeing' contribute to Io's story? Does he extend its initiatory, Proitid-type sense, or does he represent that later stage in the development of initiatory myth when the initiatory sense is effaced and lost?

5.1 Burkert's theory: Argos and primal sacrifice

Burkert sees in the killing of Argos by Hermes a myth of the first sacrifice. For him, Argos is close to cattle: he is a herdsman; he kills a bull ravaging Arcadia; and he dresses in the hide of the bull, so assuming its identity. Argos (the bull) is slaughtered by Hermes with a stone – a primal crime, even if committed on the orders of Zeus. Hermes, the first murderer amongst the immortals, stands trial; and though the gods cannot for fear of Zeus convict him, they hurl their voting-pebbles at him (which then is the origin of Hermaia). So this is Hermes 'ox-slaughterer', inventor of sacrifice, conducting the first sacrifice which leads, because of the tensions it creates, to a trial close in intention and

comic character ('Gerichtskomödie') to that of the Attic Bouphonia – the slaying of Argos is 'ein argivisches Buphonien-ritual'. The stone Hermes uses on the one hand reflects the stoning of Hermes by the gods (which can be paralleled by a rite of Dionysos at Tenedos where the fleeing sacrificer is publicly stoned) and on the other hand the stone axe from which the sacrificial axe derives. Burkert's argument is ingenious, but its central plank – the assumption of ox-identity by Argos – is, as we shall see, a late, tendentious development based on Herakles and the Nemean Lion.³⁹

The only location we have for Argos 'All-seeing', apart from the Heraion in the Io myth, is Nemea, where he is said to have pastured (*nem-*) cows which were sacred to Hera.⁴⁰ Nemea is not mentioned by Homer, but it had been important enough to provide the first of the Labours of Herakles. Yet it is something of a dependency of the Argolid: the slaying of the Nemean Lion was ordered from Tiryns, and its corpse brought to Mycenae. The lair of the Lion was not in Nemea itself, but fifteen stades to the south-east in the wilds of Mount Tretos, where still in Pausanias' day its cave was shown. And its slaughter by Herakles, now dressed in its skin, leads somehow to the Nemean Games – in one version he is thought to be their founder. It is an initiatory story.⁴¹ The animal had a special connection with the goddess Hera and her hostility: compare the motifs (though in a different order) of (1) bear/deer of Artemis, (2) its slaughter, and (3) her wrath, at Aulis and Mounichia. The hero must wear the lionskin he gains in the wild, just as Aulidian maidens evidently assumed the deerskin and maybe as Brauronian maidens donned the *krokōtos* in faint reminiscence of bearskins; similarly too, Proitids and Io assume bovine characteristics and disappear into the wilds. Finally, there are Games, just as on the Brauronian *krateriskoi* we see girls engaged in sports, or like the Aleaia at Tegea or the Hemerasia at Lousoi. Herakles and the Nemean Lion is the *hieros logos* which gives initiatory sense to games beside Mount Tretos for the youth of Nemea – and maybe of Mycenae, just over the mountain.

For Pheidon, tyrant of Argos, his conquests restored the conquests of Herakles; this too was the justification for his forcible celebration of the Olympic Games (seventh century BC?). The same claim could use the myth of the Nemean Lion to justify

Argive control over the Nemean Games, which were re-founded on a panhellenic basis under the nominal control of Kleonai in 573 BC (after, of course, the time of Pheidon). This appears to have followed a war between Argos and Sikyon, directly between whom lay Kleonai and Nemea. Provocatively, the new mythic founder was Adrastos, symbol of Argive domination over Sikyon, whose cult the tyrant Kleisthenes of Sikyon (c. 600-570 BC) had therefore terminated. Indeed, Argive mythic propaganda was so forceful that Kleisthenes shut down bardic contests, jamming the Voice of Argos.⁴²

So Argos 'All-seeing' used to pasture his herds at Nemea – a natural place for an 'Argos' to be active? But Argos is active in Arcadia too: he is a benefactor to the Arcadians, who presumably should be thankful to Argos for his protection. After all, he killed 'the bull that ravaged Arcadia' (*what* bull?) and, on top of that, killed one Satyros (or a satyr) that 'committed crimes against the Arcadians (*which* Arcadians?) and took their cattle away'. The bull is Herakles'. He had shown it to Eurystheus, then let it go. Its subsequent journeys are artificial: it roamed to Sparta (doubtless for someone to slay – otherwise it would not have gone) and 'all Arcadia' (for Argos to slaughter) and on to Marathon (for Theseus to slaughter). Argos even follows the example of Herakles to the extent of donning the hide of the slain animal, as Herakles had done at Nemea.⁴³

Argos in the seventh and sixth centuries BC was a place where mythology was manipulated in the interests of an ambitious state. Argos, the super-herdsman with an eye or eyes in the back of his head, is used to express Argos' sovereignty over Nemea and to demand acquiescence in subjection from Arcadians. In addition, he heroizes the state by association with Herakles (the city of Argos knows it cannot claim Herakles for itself). Thus Burkert's interpretation fails, resting too heavily on the derivative feature of Argos' slaughter of the bull and wearing of its hide. And the questions it sought to answer re-open: who is the original Argos and why is he stoned?

5.2 Stones

The presumption behind the Nemean and Arcadian feats of Argos is that he is already a master of cattle: he is a herdsman

who can overpower a bull or resist rustlers. When we find him in the Io story he is watching the bovine Io. Why? To ensure, of course, that she does not get away. But how do cattle normally get away? The obvious answer is: by being rustled. So what Argos appears to be is a supreme challenge to the cattle-rustler, a herdsman who never sleeps and who has eyes in the back of his head. This is the challenge that Hermes, cattle-rustler extraordinary, must face. It is a familiar context for Hermes: in the well-known myth, centred on a cave on Mount Kyllene, Hermes trickily rustles fifty cattle from Apollo. The myth, as Walcott has shown, is initiatory, the mountain cave comparing well with the haunt of the Nemean Lion. Argos too has his parallels, in the Geryon myth, where Herakles, in the attempt to rustle cattle, is confronted by (a) a two-headed dog, (b) a herdsman, (c) a three-bodied owner.⁴⁴ Herakles wins by brute force (by what tactic did he defeat the two-headed dog? – he hit it with his club!), but Hermes wins by cunning.

Hermes' use of music against Argos is spurious, unless ritually determined: what disables Argos is not music but a stone, which would be unnecessary if Argos were already asleep. Hermes' cunning is to think of using a missile: it is a dastardly and unheroic choice, as can be seen from the distaste for arrows in the *Iliad* or the agreed rules of arms reduction in the Lelantine War (no long-range missiles).⁴⁵ The choice suits the inversion of rules that occurs in the liminal period of initiation. But from a purely narrative point of view throwing a stone is still a weak motif: has some circumstance outside the myth determined this choice? Here we become aware of the surprising prominence of stones in Greek religious contexts. Their prominence is surprising because they belong to a different religious language from the personal language of Greek myth and from the anthropomorphic conception of divinity. Where found they are an embarrassment (or an opportunity) and must be given personal associations, as if to correct the language which they speak: they will be identified with a personal divinity, or they will be given a story about persons.

We may, for instance, be asked to believe that 'in more ancient times all the Greeks used to worship the gods through unworked stones rather than through statues' (Pausanias 7.22.4). There is even some truth in this, in the sense that these stones were

brought into anthropomorphic religion by being physically personalized, i.e. their successors were carved in the shape of a personal god. But I doubt whether any Greek, however primitive, believed the unworked stone actually to be the representation of a personally conceived god. These stones survived notably in Boiotia: there was a stone instead of a statue at the temple of Herakles in Hyettos and the temple of Eros at Thespia. Collections of stones, though more impressive in stone-language, are awkward in person-language. Meteorites at Orchomenos (Boiotia) are associated with 'the Graces' and given a skeletal story: 'they fell for Eteokles'; he then, naturally, is the first man to sacrifice to them, but regrettably 'there is no record of the sort of names he gave them'. Meanwhile, at diligent Pharai (Achaia) as many as 'around' thirty stones are each given the name of 'some' god, sufficiently unimpressively for Pausanias to record the name of none.⁴⁶

Or the stone is given some exiguous significance through a story about persons. On the Athenian acropolis is a stone where Silenos *rested* when Dionysos came; at Salamis is the stone where Telamon *sat* when his sons sailed for Aulis; at Megara by the hearth of the *Prodromeis* Gods is the musical stone where Apollo *put down* his lyre. The Thebans could show the stone on which Manto, prophetic daughter of the prophet Teiresias, used to . . . sit; this was the so-called *Chair of Manto* at the temple of Apollo Ismenios. No different is the 'unhewn stone' on which Oedipus finds rest in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*; its existence is the corollary of the miraculous absence of a tomb for Oedipus at that site: at Colonus, the focus of devotion was not a tomb, but a stone – on which Oedipus 'sat'. The Delphians had a stone they anointed daily with olive-oil and on which they put unworked wool at every festival; but the best they could manage was an 'opinion' that this was the stone Kronos had been given instead of Zeus (a myth itself containing a requisite equivalence).⁴⁷

Closer to our case is the number of stones associated with crime and purification. The Thebans showed the tomb of Herakles' children, whom he himself of course had murdered; he was about to kill his father Amphytrion too, but Athene knocked him senseless with the stone still shown, the so-called 'Chastener'. Or there is Orestes, murderer of his mother: at Troizen in front of the temple of Artemis Lykeia, is the stone 'on which' nine men

of Troezen once purified Orestes of the murder; three stades from Gythion in southern Laconia was the stone on which Orestes sat and where his madness ceased (though it is called, meteorically, Zeus *Kappōtas* – ‘Zeus who falls downwards’); and where Orestes was tried, on the Athenian Areopagus, there are unwrought stones for defence and prosecution, of *Hybris* (‘Outrage’) and of *Anaideia* (‘Ruthlessness’), just as Homeric arbitrators sit on ‘polished stones’.⁴⁸ Add finally the stone with which Poimandros killed his son Leukippos [ch. 3.5.1]: the story concludes with purification, and its stone ends up being used in the Nyktelia festival. The stone which Hermes rather oddly uses to kill Argos cries out for cult associations.

5.3 Trial

In a sense Hermes’ cattle-rustling has failed: bloodshed sets up a tension in need of resolution. We have now entered the transitional, or liminal, stage of the myth. A comparable moment can be seen in other myths: Poimandros must ‘go to Euboia’ before purification can be obtained; and Melampous, having equally failed to rustle the cattle of Phylakos, is the herdsman’s secluded prisoner for an initiatory year. Take even Apollo, who, amidst some disturbance and amplification of motifs, must after the death of his son serve as a herdsman for a year. Surprisingly close too is Orestes, who commits the necessary murder of his mother, only to wander maddened (like Io), until purified by trial or at a stone.⁴⁹

In the case of Hermes we have no picture of the liminal period, only of its beginning and its end. It ends in a trial. But the story has now changed gear: the law court that is spotlighted is an institution of the archaic *polis*. Where once a man might have paid his wergeld and sought purification, now the community is seen making decisions about guilt. This, we are told, was the first trial of a *daimon* for bloodshed. The trial of Hermes evidently relates to judicial meetings of the Argive Haliaia (a sort of assembly to which we may compare the more restricted Athenian Heliiaia) on the Argive equivalent of the Areopagus, the outcrop from the Larisa known as Prōn, though it has its connections too with Danaos and other figures of legend.⁵⁰

Orestes' tale, as we have seen in local versions, can end with purification at a stone. It would have been peculiarly apposite if Hermes' story too had once ended this way.

5.4 *Conclusions*

I envisage a development of the Hermes and Argos story as follows.

- (1) Originally the myth consists of three motifs:
 - (a) Hermes, attempting to rustle cattle from the impossibly alert herdsman Argos, kills him with a stone;
 - (b) anger of the gods: liminal period;
 - (c) purification, maybe at the same stone.

At this stage the myth relates to boys' initiation rites centred at beginning and end on an actual sacred stone. There are no traces of the location of this ritual. Hermes, or a precursor whom Hermes has absorbed, is directly comparable to Melampous in this myth and it is a tempting thought that his shamanic characteristics, as guide of dead souls and communicator between worlds, correspond to Melampous' powers as a seer.⁵¹

- (2) Subsequently, motif (c) is modified: Hermes is tried before the assembled gods for the first murder – but absolved. This reflects the judicial activities of the Haliaia on Prōn, important to Argives of the Archaic Age, but no longer allowing any initiatory content.

- (3) Maybe at the same time (c) also gains the motif of the stoning of Hermes, to explain his association with the strange phenomenon of Hermaia, heaps of stones typically found at boundaries.

So does the incorporation of Argos in the Io myth enhance its significance or destroy it? Only stage (1) is a candidate. Hermes and Melampous come very close. In the myth of Triphylian Pylos, Melampous seeks to rustle cattle to win a wife for his brother and finally obtains them [ch. 5.3.1]; in the myth of Sikyon, Melampous leads youths in pursuit of the Proitids, who think they are cows, and catches them. In the myth of the Heraion, Hermes seeks to rustle a cow-maid for Zeus (just as he

rustled Apollo's fifty cows, the ancestral number, as we shall see in ch. 7.5.2, of youths *or maidens* in the adolescent dance-group). The effect is to combine boys' and girls' ceremonies by casting girls as metaphorical cattle to be rustled for marriage. There is sense in this: girls' initiation rites are preparatory for marriage and may originally have led directly into a group marriage. What the Hermes and Melampous myths do is to supply the male partners for marriage, but again more as a team than as individuals. The sense of the Io frame story is not destroyed.

6 ZEUS

The myth of Io is one which Burkert has included with others in drawing up a type of myth, analysed in the manner of V.J. Propp as consisting of five 'functions':

- (1) leaving home: the girl separated from childhood and family life;
- (2) the 'idyl of seclusion';
- (3) rape – by a god;
- (4) tribulation;
- (5) rescue.⁵²

Io fits quite closely, though the beginning of the story seems lost or unemphasized:

- (1) she leaves her father's home (only overtly, by re-creation, in the *Prometheus*);
- (2) she, as Burkert says, *becomes* a priestess (though our sources only know her as already being one);
- (3) she is seduced by Zeus;
- (4) she is turned into a cow and wanders (NB Argos 'All-seeing' is irrelevant to this analysis);
- (5) she recovers her human shape and gives birth to Epaphos (late in the form we have it).

Seduction by Zeus looks obligatory against this format; against the Proitid format it looks an intrusion. It is unnecessary to believe that the tale of the Proitids has lost this motif. Neither Iphigeneia nor Embaros' daughter, though admittedly more distant from Burkert's five functions, suffered such a fate; and all three tales have proved explicable and purposeful without the

motif. So let us critically and separately examine Zeus' role in the Io myth. How has it been occasioned? What purpose does it serve? Does it destroy the significance of the myth?

In most cases where motif (3) is deployed, the offspring of girl and god founds the city or nation. Such a motif would be a welcome amplification of the message of initiatory mythology, particularly if viewed within the larger context of the renewal of the whole community, and the girl who will become a wife and a mother is happily modelled on the mother of the entire nation. However, Io gives birth to the nonentity Epaphos, who according to Argive mythology is (only) an ancestor of Danaos, the real founder of the Danaoi.⁵³ She may have been assimilated to foundress-of-the-nation mythology, but she is not part of it; and the non-participating example of the Proitids (or Iphigeneia and Embaros' daughter) should warn us against assuming that Io *must* once have had more significant progeny.

Cult supplies a more local reason for the intervention of Zeus. Although we have had reason to question the usefulness of the concept of the hypostasis or *avatar* [ch. 2.5.2], on the grounds that it makes the mortal a superfluous reflection of the immortal, mortal and immortal can still come close in profile. Io the cow-maid priestess plainly invites comparison with Hera the cow-faced goddess. But, more than that, Zeus in myth and in rituals of the Argolid is sexual partner of Hera, and likewise of Io. Io may be a maiden, but so is Hera, who becomes a *parthenos* anew every year at the spring Kanathos in Nauplia. Thus to say in the Argolid that a priestess of Hera ends her maidenhood by intercourse with Zeus is immediately to associate that maiden with Hera. Hera, being a goddess, operates on a high level: hers is a sort of cosmic marriage, to be associated no doubt with her Demeter-like control of agriculture in the Argolid. Io is a mortal, whose function is to associate the initiands with the workings of divinities and to offer them a model at a point of crisis. There is more in their similarity than a blunt 'originally Io was probably Hera herself'.⁵⁴

What Zeus signifies is the end of maidenhood. In secular terms, maidenhood is terminated by marriage and definitively by the birth of the first child [ch. 2.5.1]. In religious terms it is the function of initiation rites themselves to end maidenhood. It is then clear why these rites should be associated with a divine

seducer and notable offspring. Sacred prostitution and the *ius primae noctis* are simply other, more literal, less imaginative ways of performing the transition.

So, when the time arrives, a girl does service in the shrine of Hera in order to discharge her religious obligations (*aphosious-thai*) on ending maidenhood, to perform the transitional rite necessary before marriage. In myth, this is expressed as:

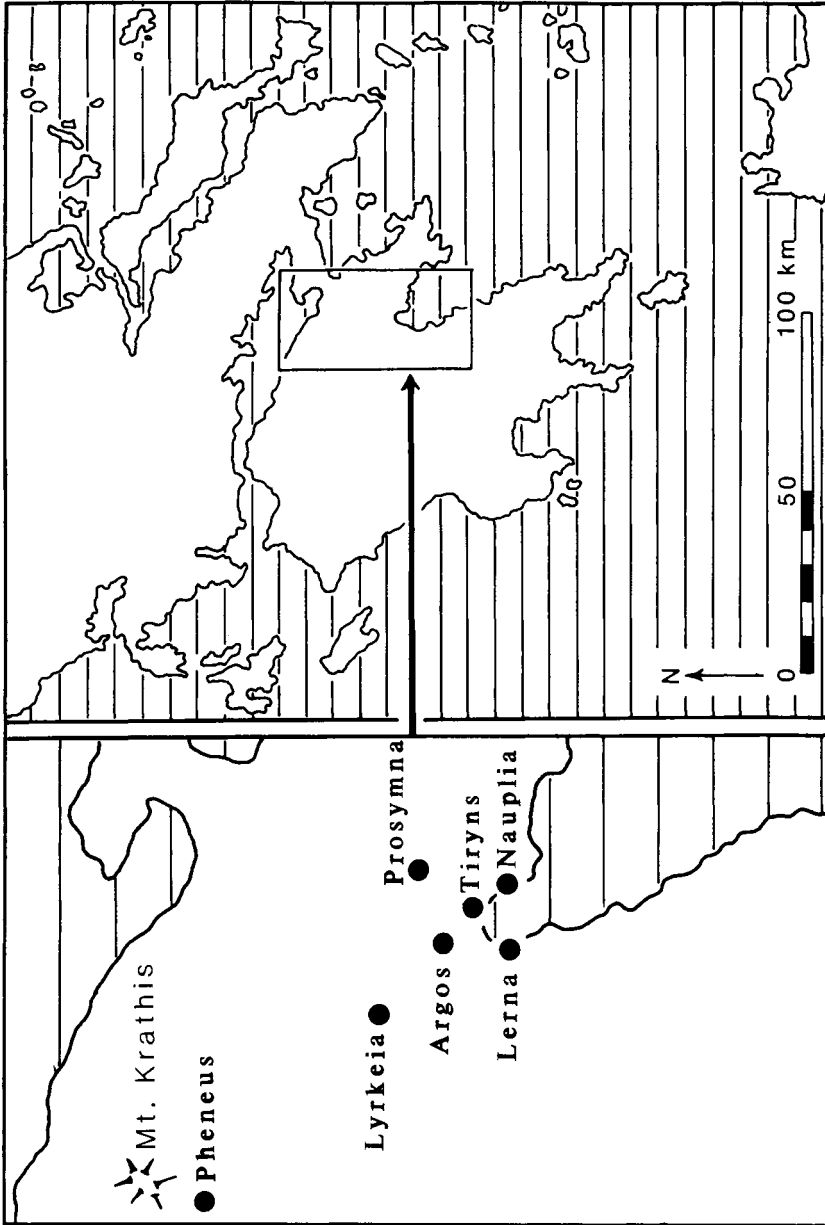
- (1) leaving the parental home, and entering service at the shrine of Hera;
- (2) receiving Zeus: the time has definitively arrived, there is no going back, this is the beginning of the end for maidenhood;
- (3) Wrath of the Goddess: segregation rites must be performed for the goddess and are cast in the role of expiation;
- (4) metamorphosis into a cow: segregation is completed by dehumanizing;
- (5) Argos, Hermes and cattle-rustling: the maiden who has qualified by 'receiving Zeus' will at the end of the rites be available for marriage;
- (6) birth of Epaphos (if genuine): a successful conclusion to the initiation rites (portrayed as preliminary marriage).

The sequence of motifs is dictated by their significance: intercourse with Zeus must lead to Wrath of Hera, therefore annoy Hera; Wrath of Hera must lead to Metamorphosis, i.e. Hera is so annoyed that she turns Io into a cow (but what is Io being punished for? – as she complains to Prometheus, on the story level she was blameless). As with Hermes and Argos, we find that the Zeus-interpolation makes good sense. There is no way of testing how far back it goes, but conceptually it is clearer if we regard it as a helpful addition to a Proitid myth. And that in the end will be our impression of Io: a singular Proitid, revised, enhanced, and enriched by Hermes, Argos, and Zeus.

7 MINOAN-MYCENAEAN RELIGION

Though implicitly much of the discussion of this book concerns the religious practices of Bronze Age Greece ('Mycenaean' Greece) and this chapter has concerned Mycenae itself, I have

not made use of the religious remains of that period. Too few bearings are provided by that evidence. On the one hand Linear B tablets are full enough of the names of the specific Greek gods (except Apollo) who populate our myths, but they reveal little about them. On the other hand, the seal-stones and statuettes have no captions (we cannot even tell how many different goddesses are portrayed) and it is impossible to determine how far skilled artistic depictions relate to local practices rather than to those of the artist's home or those regarded traditionally as colourful: after all, if we only had the evidence of Attic vase-painting, we might suppose the ecstatic religion of Dionysos to be a major factor in Athens, whereas in fact it is totally absent there. So the evidence for Mycenaean religion and mythology is insufficiently specific to be tied into this study. However, in a more general way, anyone familiar with the tantalizing depictions of Minoan and Mycenaean religion will recognize at once our divinity, whatever her name, with her dancing girls, meadows, sacred pillars, trees that receive cult, and not least the remarkable phenomenon of sacred stones.



Map 7 The Danaids

ARGOS AND RHODES: THE DANAIDS

1 MYCENAEAN AND DORIAN ARGOS

Now the last of the three great cities of the Argolid, Argos itself. It is between 1450 and 1300 BC, prosperous times for the Argolid as a whole, that Argos emerges as a significant city in comparison with Mycenae and at the end of that period it appears to suffer less from the wave of destruction than either Mycenae or Tiryns. Conclusions from archaeological evidence are delicate and it is not easy to say that any of the three sites was abandoned for any length of time, but it does seem that Argos proved the most resilient, coming during the Dark Age to dominate the Argolid – if on the basis of a significantly reduced population. But during the Dark Age too, its dialect changes: ‘before the Herakleidai returned to the Peloponnese, the Argives spoke the same dialect as the Athenians.’ By historical times its dialect in the Mycenaean age (whether similar to the Ionic of Athens or not) has left few traces: its speech is largely Doric. The eighth century, finally, sees a new impetus: now the population grows again and Argos becomes for a while the leading state in the whole Peloponnese under its tyrant-king Pheidon.¹

Despite the arrival of Dorians, culture seems to have been continuous and we cannot be surprised if Mycenaean mythology survives the arrival of Doric-speaking elements. Danaos and the Danaids are part of that surviving mythology.

2 DANAOS

The tomb of Danaos was to be found in the middle of the *agora* of Argos, so obeying (like Pelops at the heart of Olympia) the

rule that 'Founders were customarily buried in the city centre'. He is another primeval king like Proitos, like Homer's Ilos (founder of Ilion whose tomb lies in mid-plain this time instead of mid-city), or like Erechtheus (buried in the temple of Athene on the Acropolis). Danaos founded the Argive acropolis and is central to Argive identity, as we learn from Euripides' *Archelaos*:

Coming to Argos he settled the city of Inachos
And he laid it down that the people, named Pelasgians
Before, should be called Danaoi throughout Greece.

'Pelasgians' in one sense corresponds to our notion of a substratum population, but it also serves a logical and mythical function of denoting the population of an area whilst it is still grey and unmodelled and has not yet found its demiurge to give it identity and create the new order: just as some Pelasgians ruled over by Nyktimos ('Nocturnal') become Arcadians ruled over by Arkas [ch. 8.5.1], so other Pelasgians become Danaoi ruled over by Danaos. By later times Danaos' specific achievements are numerous. He founds the temple of Apollo Lykeios, a cult of premier importance to the Argive *Männerbund*, and the ancient statue, a *xoanon* – there is even a 'throne of Danaos'. He dedicates a work of art and pillar-style *xoana* [ch. 6.2.1] of Zeus and of Artemis. He also introduces writing (before Kadmos), builds the first ship, invents the digging of wells, and establishes the *Stheneia*, a contest associated with marriage held in honour of Zeus *Sthenios* ('of Strength').²

But the vital fact about Danaos is that he is the eponym of the *Danaoi*, a Greek tribe. Ironically, though this tribal name is used 141 times in Homer's *Iliad*, we do not know who the Danaoi were, because Homer uses the name to refer to the Greeks as a whole (if you are not a Danaos you are a Trojan) and never applies it more specifically, not even in the catalogue of troops. Obviously the tribe is at home in Argos, though there is some evidence of a Thessalian connection, perhaps its ultimate origin. The Danaoi must have been pre-Dorian: their very name has fallen into disuse by historical times, though deeply embedded in the (non-Dorian) epic; and if the twelfth-century seafarers known to the Egyptians as *Daniuna* or *Denyen* are to be linked with the Danaoi, it is hard to claim them as Dorians.³ The Mycenaean

emphasis is confirmed by Perseus' well-established mother, beloved of Zeus, the 'Danaän' maid, Danaë.

Traditionally, Danaos' father is Bēlos, and his twin brother Aigyptos; but as West says, 'for the addition of Aigyptos, Belos, Libye and Kyrene' to the legends of the Inachids 'we must perhaps come down to the sixth century'. One cause of the Egyptian scenario lies in the story of Io, who like the Egyptian goddess Isis, takes on cow shape [ch. 6.3]. This has evidently caused some remodelling of the story of Danaos and the Danaids, though I think that at the least we should still, like Friedlaender, envisage a story along these lines:

In the Argolid there once were two brothers: one had 50 daughters, the other 50 sons. The sons sought them in marriage; Danaos was unwilling to give them, but was forced to and plotted against the sons.

Indeed, the sons may already be black and may already come from 'elsewhere', but now their father can specifically become 'Egypt' (or 'Nile', if that is what *Aigyptos* means) and his father in turn an impressive Baal, reeking of oriental godliness and lordship.⁴

3 STOPOVER IN RHODES

Danaids are not confined to the Argive myth. Other instances, though less important in later times, will show the term 'Danaids' has a wider application – it is a generic name, not a proper name.

3.1 *The story*

Even though the original Argive myth did not include Egypt or any journey from Egypt, a strange legend tells how the Danaids came to Rhodes in their flight from Egypt to Argos (as well they might) and founded the temple of Athene at Lindos (Rhodes). Herodotus knew the story and fascinatingly, if Herodotus is right, the sixth-century Egyptian king Amasis knew it too. Some later authors attribute the foundation of the temple and the dedication of the ancient aniconic statue to Danaos himself. Another source seems to name five of his daughters who are selected by lot to be attached to the shrine; but Diodoros tells us that three of them

died at Lindos during their stay. The story, as Garvie observes, is inconsistent with the tale of the wedding and the murder. But to reach the ears of Amasis, the two must have been combined by the later sixth century BC, almost certainly, as Friedlaender conjectures, in an epic poem – the *Danaïs*?⁵

3.2 *The meaning*

On a mythological level, Danaids are daughters of Danaos, as Proitids are daughters of Proitos and Erechtheids are daughters of Erechtheus. But this in turn means that Danaos and his daughters can only validate the name on Rhodes by a twist in the mythology, a stopover in Rhodes while they were on their way somewhere else, an artificial device to combine two separate stories, separately located.

A fresh context is presented by Calame:

Females grouped into a *choros* are very often designated by a collective noun. These terms practically always refer to *choroi* of young virgins. Amongst mythical *choroi* there are the choral groups of Muses, Nymphs, Nereids, Danaids, Emathids, Amazonids, etc.; among *choroi* performing a regular ritual, there are the *Deliads* or *Lesbiads*.

Calame shows how these *-id* and *-ad* names have a specific ambience. They are not just feminine: their plurality carries with it a sense of collectivity, of belonging – to a region or to a family – and of being coevals. There are other ways too of expressing this sense: Calame refers to the maidens who dance and play the lyre to Artemis at Ephesos, the ‘maids (*korai*) of the Lydians’ and to the more prosaic phrase, ‘the local maidens’. The Danaids, then, are not just the daughters of Danaos, but the daughters of the Danaoi, the local maidens wherever the tribe of Danaoi happens to live – including Rhodes.⁶

Lindos has produced late Mycenaean remains, and colonization from the Mycenaean Argolid is evident elsewhere in Rhodes – just as we have seen the name Iasos forge a connection between the populations of Tiryns and Rhodes [ch. 6.2.2]. Strabo even reports a tradition that colonists set out for Rhodes from Argos and Tiryns; and the worship of Poseidon *Hippios* as ‘Argive’ at Lindos is a revealing confirmation.

THE DANAIDS

Of the religion of Athene of Lindos, something can be recovered. If three Danaids die on Lindos, that must be because there were notable graves beside the now excavated temple over which a seated Athene presided. It is the Tomb of the Maiden again (this time, three – like the two or three Hyperborean maidens at Delos [ch. 1.1]) and in Lindos too honours must have been paid and hair shorn before marriage. And the five Danaids attached to the shrine are doubtless the mythical model for temple service of a group of five before marriage. Athene is the patroness of women's work and at Lindos as frequently in Western Asia Minor is depicted holding a spindle; the goddess of the *Arrhephoroi* at Athens, or of Auge at Tegea, is undeniably appropriate for this initiatory service.⁷

4 AMYMONE

4.1 *The story*

Amynone is an exceptional Danaid, a named individual who, like her Rhodian counterparts, has nothing to do with the story of the fifty Danaids who flee the Egyptians. Her story is told by Hyginus (twice) and by Apollodoros along these lines:

Amynone has been sent to fetch water by her father Danaos; or she is hunting. She casts a weapon at a deer but hits a (sleeping) satyr; or she herself falls asleep. The satyr tries to rape her, but she (usually) calls on Poseidon and in any case he appears. He disposes of the satyr and lies with Amynone. He smites the ground with his trident, so creating the Springs of Lerna and maybe the River Amynone. From their union is born Nauplios.

Pausanias too knows that the River Amynone was named after a daughter of Danaos and that Nauplios was her son. He also knows that the Hydra, which Herakles killed, lived in that river, though Apollodoros places its lair on a hill by the source of the Amynone. The story of Amynone was clearly an ancient one: Aeschylus' *Amynone*, probably a satyr-play, had significant influence on pictorial art, in which Amynone and Poseidon is a familiar theme. And Euripides refers to the 'trident of Lerna' and the 'Poseidonian Amymonian waters'.

Apollodoros places the story in the context of the waterlessness of the Argolid – and that had been a subject for discussion as long ago as the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*: ‘Argos was waterless till the Danaai made Argos watered.’ The variant Danaai [‘Danaäns’, female] reminds us what Danaids [‘daughters of Danaos’] actually are. Hesiod, then, like other archaic poets, probably told the tale of Amymone.⁸

4.2 *The meaning*

Two facts immediately strike us: first, she is really a river, the one which forms the southern boundary of the plane-tree grove at Lerna; secondly, her son Nauplios is the eponym of the city of Nauplia, which faces Lerna on the opposite side of the bay.⁹ The purpose of the myth appears to be to relate the one to the other. Lerna had been a place of significance since the Neolithic period and in its grove were worshipped gods expressed in historical times as Demeter, Dionysos, and also Poseidon. So sacred a landscape would bestow authenticity and autochthony on those descended from it: hence Amymone the river (and spring) bears Nauplios to Poseidon. And she is a Danaid because the inhabitants of Nauplia were themselves Danaoi.

The dating of this myth is of some interest. It is already known to the archaic poets. In addition, Nauplia itself was another victim of Argos: in the seventh century its inhabitants fled to find a new home, with Spartan aid, at Mothone in Messenia. The myth must have been created long before this, as an intriguing Egyptian inscription of around 1380 BC may confirm: it records a place *Nu-pi-li-ja*, which may reasonably from the context be interpreted as Nauplia, and a people which seem likely to be associated with it, the *Ta-na-j^w*, in whom Faure must surely be right to see the Danaoi. Then at least ‘Danaän’ must still have been meaningful. The affiliation to Lerna too, which ignores the mythologies of Argos and Mycenae, has a rather antique air: not for these Nauplians the River Inachos or the likes of Perseus, Akrisios, Proitos, or even Atreus. This may be paralleled in the way the name of the town Prosymna next to Midea less than ten km to the north of Nauplia finds a reflection at Lerna, where there is cult of Demeter *Prosymne* and Prosymnos is the name of a figure associated with Dionysos and remarkably obscene rites.¹⁰

It is appropriate that Amymone's union should be with Poseidon. His significance was much greater in the Mycenaean age than in later times. And his connections then with initiation and the *Männerbund* are, as Bremmer has shown, still discernible. He was the lover of the female Kainis who became the invulnerable warrior at Gyrtion in Thessaly [ch. 3.5.4] and he was the chief god of our Triphylians [ch. 5.2], just as here, with Amymone, he stands at the head of a nation. At Nauplia he will have his sanctuary, though the city is empty by Pausanias' time. And, at the margin of Lerna's territory, next to the sea will be found a sanctuary – not a large one – of Poseidon *Genesios* ('of the race/clan'), just where Danaos and his daughters arrived from the primeval sea.¹¹

Amymone is a mother of the nation like Kallisto, but on a much smaller scale: she founds not the Danaoi as a whole, but a particular subdivision – those Danaäns who inhabit Nauplia. The myth is no late genealogical fabrication; it belongs to an early period, according with our general view that myths about eponyms and foundations go hand in hand with the mythology of passage rites as far back as Mycenaean times. Mycenaean inhabitants of towns such as Nauplia needed a view of themselves as much as later Greeks; and mythology provided it.

5 THE DANAIDS OF ARGOS

5.1 *The story*

5.1.1 Sources and Egyptomania

Egypt infects all surviving versions of the story, even the earliest – the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (what little we know of this part) and the epic *Danaïis*, of which only two relevant lines survive:

Then it was that they armed swiftly, the daughters of Danaos,
Before the well-flowing river of the Lord Nile.

Clement of Alexandria, who preserves this fragment, compares it with the story of the poetess Telesilla leading the Argive women to victory over Spartan troops. So the poet of the *Danaïis* has remodelled the secretive murder by the Danaids on the pattern of

the pitched battle between women and men which we have encountered in other myths. The battle, if not a preliminary one, may even imply an Egyptian setting of the whole story.¹² This is no faithful retelling of a traditional story. Later, Aeschylus tells in the *Suppliant Women* how the Danaids arrived in Argos and received sanctuary, but this is only the first part of a trilogy. Of the other two plays, *Egyptians* and *Danaids*, nothing significant remains and little can be said.¹³ For the full story we are reduced to our ragbag of later authorities and allusions.

5.1.2 The Danaids: flight and pursuit

The source of the hostility between the Danaids and the sons of Aigyptos is unclear. The reluctance of the Danaids to marry is a premiss, to be accepted without explanation so that the story may begin.¹⁴

In Apollodoros, the twin brothers Danaos and Aigyptos argue over the kingship (of Egypt), plainly repeating the nearby quarrel of the twin brothers Akrisios and Proitos. Next, Danaos 'fears the children of Aigyptos' and so, building the first ship, flees with his daughters. When the Egyptians arrive on the scene they proceed to seek marriage and, despite distrust, Danaos agrees. But Danaos gives his daughters daggers and they kill their husbands as they sleep, all except Hypermestra. In Hyginus, Aigyptos wants to kill Danaos and his daughters in order to settle his claim to the kingship; and when he discovers Danaos has escaped he sends his sons to kill him – or never return to his sight! But Danaos, realizing he cannot win by force, talks them out of battle and offers them marriage. He then instructs his daughters to kill their husbands.

Already we see in these accounts noble attempts to make sense of the story. Hyginus' version assigns a very plausible motive to Aigyptos, but Aigyptos is the least essential figure: he has a non-original name, and does not participate directly in the main action of the story – the marriage and the murder. Most authorities held that he did not come to Argos at all, even to seek justice for his slaughtered children. This myth too is being refocused: the real subjects are the Danaids and the sons of Aigyptos, not Aigyptos and Danaos. And accounts which motivate Danaos' crime or his flight by introduction of an oracle,

whilst doubtless tragic, expose the problems inherent in the narrative by turning to such an irrational source for explanation. It is sobering to turn to Aeschylus, if, as Garvie thinks,

nowhere in the *Supplices* is there any suggestion of a personal quarrel between the two brothers. The Danaids flee because they do not want to marry their cousins. The initiative is theirs, and the position of their father in this matter is, if not subordinate, at least inseparable from his daughters'.

The same picture emerges in the later fifth-century lyric poet Melanippides of Melos, who as Friedlaender observed presents the Danaids as viragos: they appear, though the text is corrupt, to reject some concept of beauty; rather, they train in chariots and enjoy hunting in groves. One scarcely knows what authority Melanippides had for this picture, but it is an appropriate expansion of the raw motif, 'the Danaids reject marriage'. If the motivation appears opaque, that is characteristic of myths whose motifs are dictated by concerns other than mere story-telling. Why will the Women of Argos or the Minyads of Orchomenos 'not accept' the rites of Dionysos? Or, more broadly, why must Io be punished for being the victim of rape? Why must Agamemnon sacrifice his daughter? And how exactly did the adolescent Proitids incur the wrath of the goddess of marriage?¹⁵

So the story, stripped of futile attempts at motivation, is simply: fifty Danaids reject marriage to their suitors and are as a result pursued by them.

5.1.3 Marriage and murder

After the pursuit we next see the group-marriage of the Danaids to the Egyptians. Now the narrative falters: Danaos is reluctant and distrustful but all the same allots his daughters (Apollodoros); or he arranges the marriage apparently to kill by trickery those he cannot fend off by force (Hyginus). In any case the daughters perform the murder, using daggers to kill their husbands on their wedding night, as they sleep.

Hypermestra is the one exception, sparing her husband Lynkeus – because he had left her a virgin, or because she loved him (motivation open for suggestions!). For this, Danaos first imprisons her; later (and this sounds like some tragedy,

regardless of whether it figured in the *Danaids* of Aeschylus) he prosecutes her, but she wins and dedicates the temple of Artemis Peitho ('Persuasion') – and a *xoanon* of Aphrodite Nikephoros ('Bringer of Victory') in the temple of Apollo Lykeios. Her son is Abas (the father of Akrisios and Proitos) and she has a tomb in Argos. Oddly, next to her is buried 'another' Hypermestra. She is the daughter of one Thestios, whose genealogy is Aitolian, and is the mother of Amphiaraos.

A grotesque fate awaits the suitors: they are decapitated and according to Apollodoros their heads are buried at Lerna, but their bodies are given due rites in front of the city. Pausanias presents a rational account:¹⁶ the heads are in the Tomb of the Children of Aigyptos, which is on the left of the road going to the acropolis, whereas the bodies are at Lerna, 'because it was at Lerna that the murder of the young men was perpetrated; and when they were dead the women cut off their heads to prove to their father what they had dared to do.' So this is why the heads were moved! We have seen moving Danaids at Lindos; now we have moving heads. In fact, it is the inclusion of Lerna in the story that causes the difficulty and which therefore will be meaningful.

Even now the story of the Danaids is not finished. For once more they must be married, this time on a permanent and satisfactory basis. Pausanias, talking of the foot-race for suitors which Penelope's father arranged, treats it as an imitation of the footrace which Danaos held to determine the successful suitors for the Danaids. So he regards the foot-race for the Danaids as well established. Why the race? No one, he tells us, wanted to marry the Danaids, because they were polluted from the murder; Danaos therefore waived his right to bride-gifts; and the suitor who won the foot-race might choose the prettiest Danaid for his wife and so on; and a lack of competitors means more than one foot-race has to be held. But the reluctance of suitors contradicts the implicit selectivity of a race: the story-line has failed.

Other, earlier, versions display no trace of the gloom with which Pausanias surrounds the story. It is mentioned briefly in Hyginus and Apollodoros, and the latter (following some epic) even adds a purification of the murderesses by Athena and Hermes. In Pindar (whose arithmetic shows magnificent pedan-

try: 50 *minus* Amymone and Hypermestra = 48!) the second marriage glitters unproblematically:

He [Antaios] had heard how Danaos once in Argos
found a way to achieve before midday
speediest marriage for his forty eight daughters.
He stood the whole choros [of Danaids] immediately at the end
of the course and told them to decide by foot race
which one each of the heroes who had come to wed them
should have.

The murder, being sensational, has always attracted the greatest attention. But the foot-race, as Graf says, restoring the natural order disrupted by the murder, is the original ending to the story: viewed psychologically or structurally, it resolves the problems posed by the 'marriage' to the Egyptians and provides as good an ending to a myth as it might to a dramatic trilogy.¹⁷

The domination of the murder and neglect of the second marriage also made possible the motif of punishment of the Danaids in the underworld, where some believed they were doomed forever to carry water in defective vessels. This punishment is not assigned specifically to the Danaids in extant literature until the *Axiochos* (falsely attributed to Plato). The concern with the underworld and its punishments, whilst it might pass muster in an age of Orphic literature and on fourth-century BC southern Italian pottery, is not the stuff of the traditional legends we have been studying, whose logic it only serves to disrupt.¹⁸

In this section we have seen the Danaids marry the Egyptians, slaughter them on their wedding night, divide their bodies for burial, and remarry after a foot-race. The tale of Hypermestra stands apart from this sequence and we shall see causes more problems than those of Pindaric arithmetic.

5.2 *The meaning*

The Danaids of the myth stand for the daughters of the Danaoi tribe, participating in ritual as an age-group. They are on the threshold of marriage, which is the story's central concern.

The number fifty constantly recurs in mythology. The Nereids are depicted as a choros of fifty girls (available to dance at the

wedding of Peleus and Thetis). And Thespaios, King of Thespiiai in Boiotia, has fifty daughters, all at the right age to be deflowered by Herakles. Ilos founded Ilion with fifty youths and fifty maidens that he had won in a wrestling contest; and the sons of Priam, who re-founded Troy, numbered fifty, at least before the Achaians came, though his daughters were a mere set of twelve. Lykaon, the primeval Arcadian king, had fifty sons; and Kinyras, primeval Cypriot king, ancestor of the Kinyrads, founder and inventor, had fifty daughters who leapt into the sea and became halcyons. Theseus had to kill the fifty sons of Pallas to take power in Athens, and Endymion, ancestor of North-west Greeks, had fifty daughters.¹⁹

Fifty is evidently a number that goes with sons and daughters; myth can easily conceptualize them in such a group, and this must have been a characteristic group for the cult dances of pre-adult members of each sex. Dance-groups of this size are known in Greek cult: fifty was the number of dancers in the dithyramb; and it was choroi of fifty youths and maidens that the Megarians had sent yearly to Corinth to bewail the daughter of Megarian Klytias who had died after marrying the Bakchiad king of Corinth. And if Bremmer is right, this size has a history stretching back to Indo-European times, when boys at least seem to have been organized in groups of fifty. At Sikyon myth apparently figured matching male and female dance-groups using the motif of 'chase' [ch. 4.3.3]. The same explanation applies to the Danaids too: fifty Danaids pursued by fifty 'Egyptians' represent the dances of two choroi, one of maidens, the other of youths.²⁰

The myth gives meaning to a ritual. It begins from rejection of marriage and ends with successful completion and implicit acceptance. Rejection consists in flight from the suitors and ultimately their murder – rather more extreme than the Proitids' simple devaluation of Hera, goddess of marriage. Yet the fate of the Danaids' suitors is not without parallel. The suitors who failed to outrun Atalante were all killed. And all the suitors of Hippodameia before Pelops, maybe a set of twelve of them, were killed by her father Oinomaos; they, like the sons of Aigyptos, were beheaded and Oinomaos nailed their heads to his house – not just a pleasingly gruesome motif: cult significance is indicated by their mass grave at Olympia. 'Slaughter of suitors' appears

also, if in a different form, in the *Odyssey* and may derive from a myth closer to our model.²¹

Separation of the head, however, is not just a story – it is a known ritual. The head, as Burkert observes, had been a treasured part of the corpse in the Neolithic period and was frequently removed, for instance to be kept in a shrine. But a less atavistic possibility appears in a scholion: '*Entoma* ('chopped') is the proper name for sacrifices made to the dead, because their heads are chopped off in the earth – this is how they sacrifice to the chthonic powers.' So the myth of the Danaids displays chthonic sacrifice; and this seems to fit with the strange fact that, having murdered their husbands of one night, they then pay them due funeral honours. We are confronted with: (1) the correct mode of offering to the dead, (2) some dead, (3) (funeral) honours to those dead, (4) the place of their tomb. This myth looks aetiological: Danaän maidens in the course of their passage rites make offerings at the tomb of the Dead Suitors, confronting the problem of rejection of marriage, regarding themselves as polluted by it and sacrificing a victim in the chthonic manner, removing the head. In some ways the ceremony would resemble one held at Corinth: the Corinthians had murdered the children of Medea and in expiation seven Corinthian boys and seven girls must perform chthonic ritual of a lamenting, funerary character in black dress annually thereafter.²²

But the removal of the heads also connects two sites: the suitors' tomb can be found on the way to the citadel of Argos; but the other – and unexpected – site is Lerna. Already we have seen a certain magnetism attracting the Nauplian Danaäns to Lerna; now, pre-Dorian Argos is attracted. If we accept Apollodoros' siting of the heads at Lerna and if we also recognize that only the heads are portable, it would seem that the ritual proceeds from the tomb of the Suitors at Argos to Lerna. Lerna is a supremely marginal site and its grove is clearly steeped in religious antiquity. At the same time the myth is, not atypically [ch. 6.4.3], omissive on the liminal period: the Danaids are cut off from humanity by the murder and reincorporated by the second marriage, but what of the period in between, when they expiate their condition? Instant purification by Athena and Hermes, as Apollodoros has it, does little to fill the gap. Exile to Lerna, as to Brauron or Lousoi, and service in the sacred grove would fit perfectly.

The cult of Demeter in the marsh of Lerna must have been specially important for women, like the temple and grove of Demeter 'In the Marsh', five stades from Megalopolis, which however was open only to women (at least in historical times Lerna is open for a Pausanias to describe its contents). Moist, lush sites display natural sympathy with maidens' initiation rites and are often associated with them: we ourselves have seen the waters of Lousoi [ch. 4.3.4], the marshes of the River Anigros [ch. 4.4] and the luxuriant mouth of the Alpheios [ch. 5.4]. The Nauplians might well trace their origin to maternal Lerna. And the fact that in the Argolid only the streams of Lerna did not dry up in summer forms a suggestive link with the tradition that the Danaids brought water to the Argolid and with their water-carrying punishment in Hades: was there once a rite in which Danaän maidens carried pitchers of water from Lerna?²³

Mention of women's cult leads to another connection. The conflict between the sexes, chase of the female, slaughter of the male point us towards the Agriana type of myth and *Ausnahme-ritual* [ch. 4.3.2]. As at Sikyon [ch. 4.3.3], the focus is on new participants in the battle between the sexes, the maidens and the youths, and the final tableau is one of marriage. Apollodoros tells us that before Aigyptos the Egyptians were *Melampodes* ('Blackfeet' – the plural of our prophet Melampus) and, so one source alleges, the Nile (*Aigyptos* in Homeric Greek) had originally been called the *Melas* ('Black'). Egyptians were clearly as 'black' to the Greeks as the 'Sooties' of Orchomenos or the clothes of the Athenian ephebes [ch. 5.6]. In addition, the exotic distance of Egypt surely made it an acceptable motif to depict the sense of marginality and the outside that is so prominent in the liminal stage of passage rites. Crete is used in the same way in the story of Theseus and the Minotaur.

That leaves the greatest mystery of the Danaids story, the astonishing absence, as Friedlaender saw, of a presiding god. The Danaids are not, and do not become, priestesses or temple officials. Friedlaender supposed that once Hera was the goddess of this story as she was of Io's story (thus assisting their combination) and appealed to the tradition of Hypermetra's priesthood to Hera – though, as sole unpolluted survivor, she is an obvious choice for the manufacturer of a priestess-list. But the

location of Lerna would make one look rather to Demeter Prosymna as the women's goddess displaced by the Egyptian detour; and the physiognomy of the myth forces us towards Dionysos, her associate in the grove (after all, the Danaids themselves dedicated its *xoanon* of Dionysos Saotes – 'Saviour'). There is also a tantalizing relationship, which Graf has briefly explored, between the submerging of the suitors' heads in the marsh, the drowning of a ram in Argive rites of Dionysos, probably in the Alkyonian Mere at Lerna (site of *nocturnal* rites to Dionysos), Dionysos' descent into the same mere and his pursuit by Lykourgos into the sea.²⁴ The effect is to confirm the connection of the Danaids with a Dionysos festival of Boiotian Agrionia/Nyktelia type.

The story closes with the foot-race. It is not a rare story for a bride to be won by some form of contest in Greek or indeed other cultures. And clearly important marriages in real life could be determined by a comparative consideration of the merits of different suitors, the most famous example being the deliberately heroic contest held by Kleisthenes of Sikyon and lost by Hippokleides' undignified handstand dance. In myth there are two notable foot-races (I leave aside the contest in bow-stringing and archery from the *Odyssey*, and the chariot-race in which Oinomaos defeated all comers except Pelops). One was near Sparta, where Ikarios held such a competition for the hand of Penelope and Odysseus won; the other is the race proposed by Iasos for his daughter Atalante, finally won by Milanion (another Black name), though against Atalante herself rather than directly against the other suitors. More generally, races and sports are typical activities in the education of the age-group; girls themselves race at Elis in memory of Hippodameia or in the Attic *Arkteia* [ch. 2.3.2.4]. The race for the Danaids is by their plurality more inclined towards this general type: it is not a competition for the one available bride, but rather a distribution of brides amongst a group, following on from a sporting activity, i.e. initiation culminating in group marriage. By historical times this was the foundation myth for games at Argos, just as the Nemean and Olympic Games probably owe their origin to initiatory sport.²⁵

6 HYPERMESTRA, NEW YEAR FIRE, AND THE DISAPPEARING THESMOPHORIA

Hypermetra is a notable Danaid. Like Amymone, she is picked out by name, a superlative name ['Super-to-woo?'] which may reflect that select leader of the initiatory chorus who becomes a priestess in historical times [ch. 6.4.2]. She acts, too, in deliberate counterpoint to the main chorus of Danaids, by failing to reject marriage – as though one of the Proitids were to find Hera's pillar quite acceptable and be excused from being turned into a cow.

Genealogy is indebted to her for giving birth to Abas, eponym of the Abantes. This tribe, said originally to have come from Thrace, explains Abai in Phokis, but is especially associated with Eubolia, which poets sometimes call 'Abantis'. The Eubolian Abantes are regarded by Herodotos as part of the mostly non-Dorian population of Greece that colonized Ionia. They must also, then, have dwelt in the Argolid, because the function of Hypermetra is to classify and subordinate them as a subdivision of the Danaoi. The other Hypermetra is a puzzle, buried alongside the first Hypermetra with nothing, it seems, but her name to connect her. She gives the mighty seer Amphiaraos an Aetolian family background but Argive nationality. We have seen Argive ambitions on seers [ch. 5.5.5] and she is plainly a tool for acquiring this Akarnanian VIP.²⁶

Meanwhile the real Hypermetra and her husband Lynkeus are enmeshed in a fire festival. Annually the Argives light beacons – because Lynkeus lit a beacon at Lyrkeia to indicate he had got safely away, and Hypermetra responded with a beacon on Larisa at Argos. Lynkeus/Lyrkeia: the words are too close for comfort. Lyrkeia had originally been called Lynkeia, Pausanias tells us, glibly adding that it was renamed Lyrkeia after a bastard son of Abas, conveniently named Lyrkos. Lynkeus' connection with the Lyrkeian beacon appears due, then, to a superficial similarity of name. But Lyrkeia to Argos is only part of a route which had been much longer, and led in the end to Lerna. 'On Mount Krathis [in northern Arcadia] is a shrine of Artemis *Pyrhonia* ['of Fire']; and in remote times the Argives used to bring fire from this goddess to the Lernaia.'²⁷ New fire rituals lead us back to murderous women: at Lemnos Burkert has shown how, at a festival involving new fire, a ritual withdrawal of women from

their menfolk is violently depicted in mythology by the Lemnian Women murdering their husbands. This mass murder is similar to that committed by the Danaids except for the familiar conflict of age-groups: Lemnian women versus Danaid newly-weds. But if we think, as Burkert and Graf do, in terms of a New Year Festival, typically associated with renewal of fire, withdrawal of women, enrolling of initiates in the adult group as society itself finds renewal, then Lemnian Women provide an acceptable backcloth not only for the murder of the Danaids and women's rites at Lerna, but also for a genuine inclusion of Hypermestra and Lynkeus in rites of new fire. They may indeed, as Graf supposes, by their successful marriage guarantee the continuity of society after a period of crisis. The fire signals on Lyrkeia and Larisa may seem out of place, but the tomb of the suitors is close to Larisa and the rites of Lerna can be understood as Argive rites held at an Argive margin.²⁸

It would be pleasing to join Burkert in drawing together a number of threads by accepting Herodotos' association of the Thesmophoria with the Danaids.²⁹ Burkert convincingly connects the Thesmophoria with new fire festivals, and its goddess, Demeter, is after all the goddess of the Lernaean Grove. But Herodotos' evidence looks worthless. At the end of his account of Egypt he mentions that on a lake near Saïs the Egyptians hold secret rites to Osiris (alleging that the Egyptians 'call them mysteries'); he knows the details of these rites but of course will not publish them. He continues:

In the case of the rite of Demeter too, which the Greeks call the 'Thesmophoria', I must keep silent, except for so much of it as piety allows me to tell. The daughters of Danaos were the ones who brought this rite from Egypt and instructed the Pelasgian women. But when the Dorians brought about wholesale population movement in the Peloponnese the rite perished; and the Peloponnesians who remained behind and did not move, the Arcadians, were the only ones to preserve it.

So Herodotos or his source knows an Egyptian rite of Isis, whom he calls Demeter, which in some sense is secret and recalls the Greek 'Thesmophoria' rite. Therefore he supposes that it had been brought to Greece from Egypt, fount of religious knowledge. Wanted: women of legendary times moving from Egypt to

Greece. Sole applicants: Danaids, the. But now a problem: the Danaids, as everyone knows, went to Argos, where there is no Thesmophoria (what else can Herodotos mean?). Solution: it was lost in the Dorian infiltration. Herodotos' account, so far from connecting Argos with the Thesmophoria through the Danaids, clearly presupposes the absence of the Thesmophoria in the Peloponnese except for Arcadia and uses the Danaids as a mere expedient. Herodotos, if rather too sweeping in assuming its absence from the Peloponnese (there are scanty references to the festival in Megara and Sparta), gives us some reason to be cautious of the conventional wisdom that 'the Thesmophoria is the most widespread festival in Greece' (Nilsson).³⁰ Of course, a Thesmophoria could have been practised in pre-Dorian times (Herodotos would then have stumbled on the truth) and this would fit Burkert's picture. It certainly should have been held.

7 THE DIVISION OF THE ARGOLID

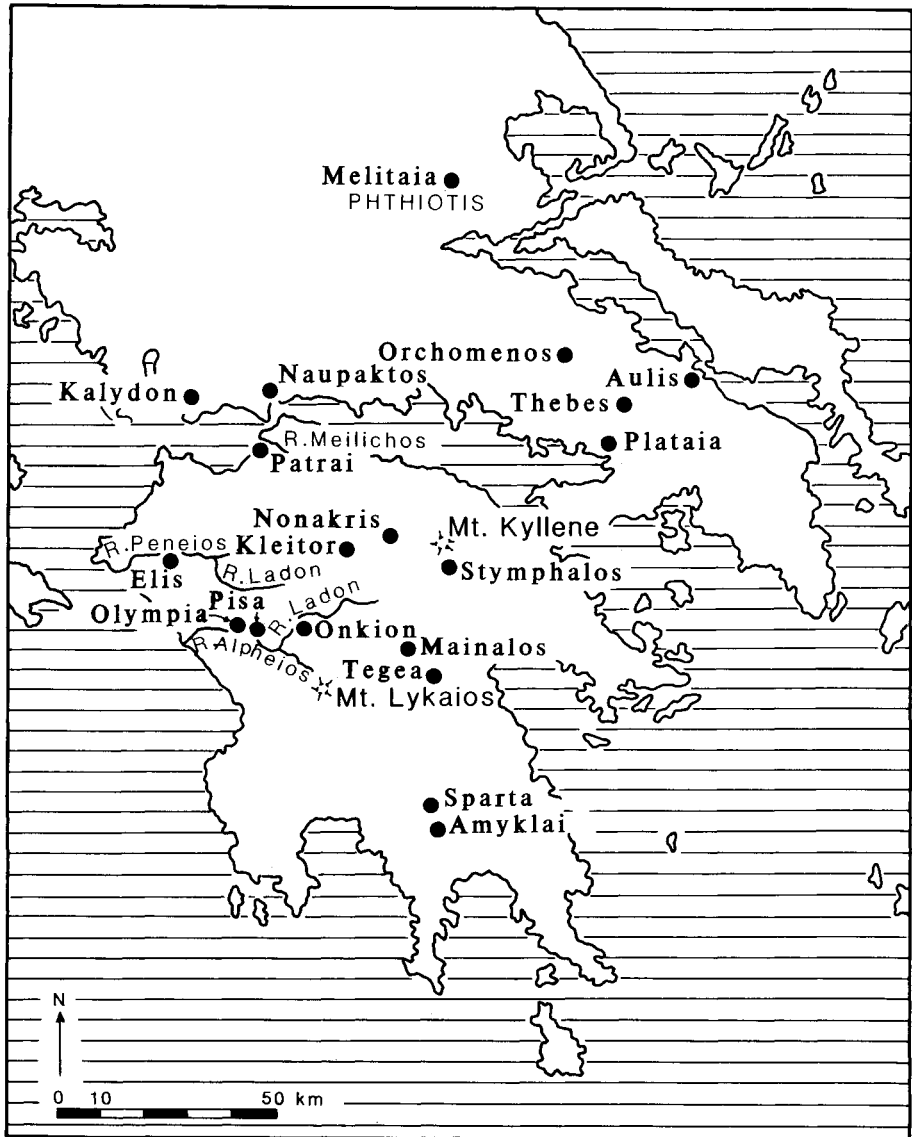
We have now looked at the rites of Tiryns, Mycenae, and Argos. In passing we have considered Lousoi to the north-west, Sikyon to the north, and Nauplia in the south. We find uniformities and anomalies. On the one hand, Mycenae and Tiryns are united by the cow-maiden mythology and by Hera, even if the *Catalogue of Ships* allocates Tiryns to Diomedes (Argos) not Agamemnon (Mycenae). Lousoi we regard as a centre for exiles from this area – if with Artemis; and Sikyon – if the connection with the Proitids or Cows is ancient – at least in the *Catalogue of Ships* comes under the Agamemnon.³¹ On the other hand, the Danaoi of Bronze Age Argos and Nauplia may contrast tribally with the inhabitants of Mycenae and Tiryns, whether *Iasoi or just simple Achaioi. And they look to Lerna, the grove of Demeter and Dionysos. In the case of Argos, they take a more corporate view of themselves: fifty daughters of the Danaans rather than three select members of the royal family, daughters of Proitos.

The map is filled with overlays: the temple of Artemis above Oinoë, to the west of Argos intrudes (and the fire-route from distant Mount Krathis seems like a leftover from another world). Populations did not move in single waves or erase utterly the religious practices that had been there before them – which in

THE DANAIDS

their turn had probably been quite disparate. The result is a patchy, if suggestive map. Now a precinct of Hera, now a grove of Demeter, now a remote shrine of Artemis.

DEATH AND THE MAIDEN



Map 8 Short stories

SHORT STORIES FROM ACHAIA AND ARCADIA

1 A SKETCHBOOK

Not all stories survive in sufficient detail to sustain the full-length portrait we have devoted to Iphigeneia, Proitids, Io, and Danaids. And in any case we have by now developed a repertoire of motifs which can help us to recognize the significance of other stories, even when preserved in late authors at a considerable remove from the local origins of their narratives. To begin, a few exemplary sketches:

1 (Source: Plutarch – a Boiotian.) At Plataia (Boiotia) Aristides was buried in the shrine of Artemis Eukleia. Most people think Eukleia was Artemis (an ancient example of thinking in terms of hypostases, by-forms, avatars, ch. 2.5.2); but others say she was the daughter of Herakles and Myrto: she died a maiden (Tomb of the Maiden, ch. 1.1) and is honoured by Boiotians and Lokrians, having an altar and statue in every *agora* (like the tomb of Iphinoë at Sikyon, ch. 4.2.3, . . . or Megara); and brides and bridegrooms make a preliminary offering to her (who else?).¹

2 (Source: Antoninus Liberalis – second century AD? – on the basis of Nicander.) At Melite (Phthia – familiar territory) the tyrant Tartaros rapes every pretty girl before marriage (NB). But Aspalis prevents him by hanging herself (Death of the Maiden, if surprisingly active). Her brother dresses as a girl to assume her identity (Achilles, Leukippos . . .), and kills the tyrant: there follows procession and hymn (pointer to ritual) and the body of the tyrant is thrown into the River Tartaros (role of the river, does its name change?, ch. 6.2.3 . . . and ch. 8.2.2 below). The

body of Aspalis disappears (cf. Iphigeneia), but they put her statue next to the *xoanon* of Artemis and call the goddess Aspalis Ameilete Hekaerge (close association of prototype with goddess, again not a 'hypostasis', ch. 2.5.2, ch. 6.6; belabour Farnell for the comment 'it is clear that Aspalis is a forgotten name of the Artemis of Phthia'). Maidens sacrifice a goat to her (as at Brauron) and hang it (in a sort of symbolic suicide).²

3 (Source: Antoninus Liberalis on the basis of Nicander and Corinna – Boiotian again.) Metioche and Menippe (note the *-ippic* name, ch. 4.3.4), daughters of Orion, are brought up at their mother's after his death: they are educated in weaving by Athene (cf. *Arrhephoroi* or finds at Brauron) and beautified by Aphrodite (premium value again). Plague strikes Aonia (even without killing bears) and the oracle demands the sacrifice of two willing maidens to the two infernal gods (Iphigeneian death of the maiden, as also at Messene where the infernal gods are again the recipients, ch. 2.2.3). Metioche and Menippe are the only ones who will agree (Embaric tale, this) and sacrifice themselves at the loom (where they have been practising womanhood) – crying out thrice to the underworld gods (ritual) before committing suicide with shuttles. Their bodies disappear (as usual) and stars rise instead from the ground. The Aonians found a communal shrine of the maidens at Orchomenos (so this was its myth and that is where the ritual is located). Every year, youths and maidens bring expiatory offerings (it is their story: they have obligations to discharge); the Aeolians (NB) still call them the Koronid maidens (more *-ids*, this time the maidens of Koronea, on the margins of the territory of Orchomenos).³

4 Even a mysterious allusion of Euripides gains some substance:

and you whom Artemis once expelled from her chorus,
the gilt-horned deer, the Titanid daughter of Merops,
because of your beauty . . .

Merops, like Pelops or Dolops, must originally have been the eponym of the Meropes, a tribe associated in historical times with the island of Kos – itself said to be the name of a daughter of Merops (this one?). Of this eponym our (eponymous?) maiden is

the daughter (cf. Danaids). We observe appreciatively her beauty, the hostility of Artemis, and the conversion to a deer.⁴

So a method has been developed by which many myths may be understood. Yet they do not follow a rigid sequence of motifs: there is richness and diversity in the local stories. And the purpose of this chapter is to explore a few more of them in the detail which they allow. These are short stories rather than novels; and the first is a love story.

2 THE ROMANCE OF MELANIPPOS AND KOMAITHO

2.1 *Myth*

We are now at the precinct of Artemis Triklaria in Patrai (Achaia), listening to its myth. Triklaria ('Of the Three Parcels' (of land)) refers to the three localities known as Aroë, Antheia, and Mesatis which Pausanias says 'The Ionians' held and from which Patrai was formed. The precinct is common to them and expresses their unity.⁵

The priesthood was held by a maiden until she was to be married and in our story the priestess is Komaitho ('long-haired' like Achilles, maybe 'redhead' too), the most beautiful maiden. No less attractive is Melanippos ('Black-horse' cf. Leukippos and *-ippic* names in general, but for the colour turn to Melampous, 'Sooties', Egyptians, and ephebes, ch. 5.6). They fall in love. Like Leukippos, Melanippos finds he cannot make progress by normal methods (the parents of both are the obstacle this time) and they illicitly fulfil their passion in the shrine – repeatedly. Wrath of the goddess, famine, disease, and oracle, as usual. The demand is human sacrifice: Melanippos and Komaitho to begin with, and the most attractive maiden and youth every year thereafter. Now even the river is called the 'Unappeasable' (*Ameilichos*).

After this Mounichian or Brauronian opening, Act II brings a different type of resolution: in sails the hero Eurypylos, bearing (in a chest) the effigy of Dionysos Aisymnetes; in accordance with oracles he now puts an end to the human sacrifice, renames the river *Meilichos* ('Appeasable, Gentle') and takes up residence.

2.2 *Ritual*

This is one of those rare cases where we know something of the associated ritual and it is one of particular power and interest. Pausanias is our guide:

The epithet of the god inside the chest is Aisymnetes and his principal attendants are nine men elected from the whole citizen body by the people according to reputation, and women equal in number to the men. On one night of the festival the priest brings the chest outside and that is what is special about this night. And a given number of the children of the local people go down to the Meilichos, their heads garlanded with ears of corn: this is how in ancient times they used to dress those they were taking to sacrifice to Artemis. But in our time they leave their garlands of ears of corn with the goddess; then they wash in the river and, putting on new garlands, of ivy, they go to the temple of Aisymnetes.

Where is the procession? We may rule out the acropolis of Patrai with its temple of Artemis Laphria and the monument/tomb of the hero Eurypylos. Even if Artemis Laphria could have replaced Artemis Triklaria on this site and even though Eurypylos is central to the myth as we have it, the procession described by Pausanias does not involve the acropolis. They seem to start from the temple of Dionysos Aisymnetes, which is on the way from the *agora* to the sea; and they reach the Meilichos and the shrine of Artemis Triklaria, which must itself be by the sea if Eurypylos sails in there (Brelich). It may still be within the city limits, in the old town of Aroë, but the site by the sea recalls the marginality of Halai, Brauron, Mounichia, and Anthia's Ephesos [ch. 2.4.3-4].⁶

On the occasion of the sacrifice Eurypylos arrived with the chest containing the god Dionysos Aisymnetes; during the procession of those dressed as though for sacrifice, the priest of the god carries the chest. He must at some point in the ceremony replay the intervention of Eurypylos which ended the sacrifice and founded the cult. Suggestive also is the shrine of Salvation (*Soteiria*) on the way from the temple of Dionysos Aisymnetes to the sea – or on the way back. Here Eurypylos is cured of his

madness (complete with stone, cf. Orestes, ch. 6.5.2); so release comes both to him and to those who would have been sacrificed otherwise.⁷

The story revolves around a maiden and a boy clearly both of initiatory age, though as with Daphne and Leukippos it is the maiden who is central and close to the divinity: she is, like Io, the priestess of the goddess. In cult an unspecified number of children, obviously 'select' boys and girls, correspond to Komaitho and Melanippos and must perform a ritual of transition at the edge of the city, at a boundary formed by both river and sea (as at Brauron, itself on the River Erasinos), at night, in memory of a youth with a Black name. The anger of the goddess is required, as always, for its results and compulsion: Komaitho and Melanippos must die, later generations (until Eurypylos) must die . . . and modern boys and girls must perform the ritual (compare the equivalence of human sacrifice and Bear Ritual in Artemis' demands at Brauron). The select children in cult are associated with the myth through their sacrificial dress and strikingly remove their garland of ears of corn to dedicate it to Artemis. This is partly a token of surrender to Artemis: it is an elementary form of 'laying aside' which substitutes for 'sacrifice' to Artemis, the goddess of virginity whose values are now being set aside and who therefore requires 'discharge of obligations' (*aphosiousthai*). But partly, too, the ears of corn hold a promise of procreation and show the value of the exit from Artemis' world.

Washing or passing through water is the archetypal transitional ritual. Bathing, observes Brelich, is an entrance into and an exit from water;⁸ but perhaps we should view it instead as an exit and an entrance. The Proitids are cleansed of their former condition at the streams of Lousoi; here, as the period of crisis ends, even the river harmoniously changes its identity, from religiously hostile (A-meilichos) to OK [Meilichos], as apparently did the Alpheios [ch. 5.4 – and compare the *Eleutherios*, 6.4.3]. The river is in any case a frequent feature of these ceremonies [ch. 6.2.3]. Assuming their new identities, which allow sex (with parental approval), the initiands adopt new insignia: the rampant vine of Dionysos.

The dramatic arrival of Man with Chest, the ivy leaves, the procession to the 'new' temple, and Salvation from Human

Sacrifice are all colourful ideas and it is tempting to view them as intruders upon an older ritual of more purely Brauronian/Iphigeneian type, but they are a required purely resolution, as Massenzio has shown. When we stand back, the profile of these ceremonies has varied parallels that preclude any idiosyncratic development. This is not the first time we have seen the association of Dionysos with a festival of disorder followed by order. And it is notably a nocturnal festival at which order is renewed, which connects it to the Agrionia and Nyktelia [ch. 4.3.2]: it would not even be out of place if a ship from Delphi, like that of Eurypylos, brought 'new fire'. Once more it is about the whole structure of the community, denoted by selections: elected men, select women, and boys and girls (surely also 'select'). The boys and girls face the crisis of 'near' sacrifice before rescue. But their rescue comes from Dionysos *Aisymnetes*, the god of national identity (hence his use for the synoikism), and from the Outsider Eurypylos, whose tomb on the acropolis reflects his paradoxical spiritual centrality at Patrai, which in turn empowers him to restore or admit new members to the adult community. Graf is surely right that the journey to Aroë re-creates the order of the state from chaos, by replaying the synoikism: so it is that this Artemis is worshipped as *Triklarios*.⁹ On the other hand, an original form of the myth using a different symbol than synoikism (for instance Pelasgians, cf. ch. 7.2, 8.5.1) must once have belonged to the village of Aroë; only later did it pass to communal, synoikized Patrai, when the latter assumed all Aroë's assets and liabilities.

In the case of the Proitids of Tiryns we rejected assignment of one festival to two gods; and though, for instance, Hera and Artemis as understood in historical times display a complementarity which makes sense of Bacchylides' reading of the myth, we preferred to employ geographical rigour to assign Hera to Tirynthian cult but Artemis to that of Lousoi.¹⁰ But it remains true that in historical times gods are found plainly associated in cult and ritual and there is no reason to exclude such phenomena from the polytheism of earlier ages. We had already seen something of the sort at Argos and Lerna, where the cults of Demeter and Dionysos seem woven together [ch. 7.5.2], and in the Agrionia where the month Agrianios succeeds (resolves?) Artamitios [ch. 4.3.2]. Here at Patrai, it is inappropriate

immediately to separate Dionysos from Artemis: their complementarity makes ritual sense. First comes the centrifugal force of Artemis, impelling children from the city to the margins. Then, the centripetal force of Dionysos, arriving from beyond the sea, from Delphi, drives to the political centre. Yet the joint between the two scenes of the myth is surprisingly exposed and historically one cannot rule out that at some remote stage an Agrionia pattern has been superimposed on an Proitid/Artemis initiation pattern, as maybe at Orchomenos [ch. 4.3.2]. But then we are talking about very remote times indeed: we would be reconstructing the prehistory of prehistory.

2.3 *Kalydon*

Dionysos also has a role in a second, not dissimilar romance, sited in Kalydon (Aitolia) connected by Pausanias with the shrine of Dionysos Kalydonios in Patrai. Now a certain Koresos, priest of Dionysos, loves Kallirhoë but is viciously rejected. He prays to his god, the Kalydonians rave and die, the oracle pronounces: Koresos must sacrifice Kallirhoë, or a willing substitute, to the god. She is led to the altar, but Koresos kills himself. Out of shame, she cuts her throat into a spring at Kalydon near the harbour – known ever after as Kallirhoë. This superbly romantic tale (which some Hellenistic elegist must have enjoyed) shares the priesthood, impossible love, the wrath of the god, the prescription of Sacrifice of the Maiden, and the waters (at which future generations of maidens may pay homage?). Did the inhabitants of Kalydon in ancient times have similar myth and ritual to the inhabitants of Aroë–Patrai, encompassing Dionysos? Kalydon appears to have been ‘the chief Mycenaean centre for the whole of this southern part of Aetolia’; it is recognized by the *Catalogue of Ships*, and the Kalydonian Boar Hunt found its way into the oral culture of epic. Thucydides tells us outright: it had been Aeolian.¹¹

The inhabitants of Patrai openly recognized a religious debt to Kalydon, as we can see not only from the epithet of Dionysos Kalydonios, but also from the cult of Artemis Laphria on the acropolis which was so clearly recognized to be of Kalydonian origin that the Emperor Augustus gave the people of Patrai the Kalydon cult statue. A striking cult is easily borrowed and few

cults can have been more striking than the brutal cult of Laphria at Patrai, where live animals were driven into the flames. And Pausanias alleges that the Artemis Aitole or Laphria of Naupaktos was simply adopted from the Aitolians by the Messenians whom the Athenians settled in Naupaktos around 459 BC. But our two myths belong to an earlier stratum, given the extent of their differentiation. They result from movements of pre-Doric peoples long ago in the Bronze Age.¹²

3 DAPHNE

3.1 *The site and type of the tale*

Few tales are better known than that of Daphne. Apollo himself, so Ovid relates, pursued her passionately – till her prayers to the River Peneus brought release and she was turned into a laurel tree (*daphne*). The myth explains why laurel was so prominent in the cult of Apollo, even supplying titles for the god: *Daphnaios*, *Daphnephoros*, *Daphnites*. So aetiology is often thought to be the basic business of this myth, whereas the variant which tells of the love of Leukippos, a king's son, for Daphne is regarded as displaying Hellenistic romantic taste.¹³

But where does this myth happen, where is it to be localized? If it explains the use of laurel in Apolline cult, it should belong to a cult site where that usage was current.

Daphne is a daughter of the River Peneios in Ovid. Ovid, it is true, is a creative author with no immediate access to local tradition; but he does at least draw upon the work of Hellenistic poets, which, usefully for our study, could come close to antiquarianism. Ovid apparently refers to the River Peneios in Thessaly (certainly Statius took him that way). But Peneios is also the name of the principal river of Elis and this was surely the river his ultimate source had intended. In Parthenios, who is synthesizing the accounts of a Hellenistic elegist and of Phylarchos, a third-century BC historian and researcher, Daphne becomes a daughter of Amyklas, the eponym of Amyklai near Sparta, and hunts in Lakonia, though the rest of the story is still set in the territory of Elis. In the remaining version she is the daughter of the River Ladon. But which Ladon? Pausanias and, I think, most others think of the Arcadian Ladon, a tributary of

the Alpheios rising in the territory of Kleitor, flowing past Thelpousa and finally joining the Alpheios two or three miles before it leaves Arcadia and enters Elis. There is, however, another Ladon mentioned by Pausanias, a tributary of the Elean river Peneios, rising at the boundary of Elis and Arcadia and flowing down to join the Peneios at the least known Pylos.¹⁴ If Leukippos' love for Daphne is not a Hellenistic romantic fiction, his home (Pisa, on the Alpheios in Elis) would favour the Alpheios tributary.

So we are somewhere in eastern Elis or the adjoining fringe of Arcadia – an unlikely setting for a story accounting for the use of laurel in the cult of Apollo, because Apollo is not at all prominent in this part of the world, as a glance through Pausanias shows: in Elis there is only really the temple of Apollo *Akesios* ('Healer') in the *agora* of the city of Elis. In Arcadia, if we set aside the temple of Pythian Apollo north of Pheneus (made by Herakles after capturing Elis, i.e. by invading North-West Greeks?) and the grove of Apollo Parrhasios on faraway Mount Lykaion, there is only one instance worth mentioning: the temple of Apollo Onkaiates next to the River Ladon at the town of Onkion just south of Thelpousa. Though possible, it is hard to believe that this is the source of the story: would an aetiology of the use of laurel not have been better set near Delphi or the temple of Apollo Ismenios at Thebes, site of the *Daphnephoria*?¹⁵

What we should have found in Arcadia or Elis, if the myth had really been aetiological, can be demonstrated from the Syrians on the Orontes, who correctly made cult conform to myth. Seleukos (I) had founded at Antioch a temple of Apollo Daphnaios (of which no trace in Arcadia and Elis); 'the Arcadian myth' was re-sited there, a river renamed 'Ladon' and a holy laurel tree duly grown. No room here for Leukippos (though a matching cypress tree had resulted from a matching metamorphosis of a matching Assyrian youth named Kyparittos).¹⁶

3.2 *The story*

So what is the story of Daphne and what other message has it for us? Our sources are late; and though Pausanias knows a Syrian version (surely very like Ovid's), he presents only the version 'told by the Arcadians and Eleans' – who had been reading

literature very like Parthenios. Taking all three authors together, the story falls into four scenes, as follows.

Scene 1: Portrait of Daphne. Daughter of the Ladon, the Peneios, or Amyklas, she is clearly a maiden at the eligible age. She wants nothing to do with men (Pausanias), she wants perpetual maidenhood (Ovid). She hunts in the wilds (Ovid and Parthenios, who paints in the corollary, that she is never in town or with the other maidens) and is dear to Artemis (Parthenios: she gets the gift of shooting well) or at least emulates her (Ovid).

Scene 2: Leukippos (absent from Ovid). Leukippos, son of Oinomaos King of Pisa, understands the difficulty of wooing Daphne and decides to dress as a woman; in any case, he was letting his hair grow long for the River Alpheios. So he joins her hunting and they become close friends.

Scene 3: Dénouement

Those who sing of Apollo's love for her also add the following: Apollo was enraged at Leukippos because of his success in love. And immediately Daphne and the other maidens decided they wanted to swim in the Ladon and against his will they stripped Leukippos. Seeing he was not a maiden, they struck him with their spears and daggers and killed him.

(Pausanias 8.20.4)

So Pausanias views Apollo as an optional addition (by poets) to the Arcadian and Elean myth. On the other hand, a friendship based on transvestism calls for a dénouement. Only Apollo's instigation of the dénouement is originally foreign to the Leukippos version.

Scene 4: Metamorphosis (absent from Pausanias). Apollo chases Daphne; she prays to Zeus (according to Parthenios) or the Peneios (Ovid); and she is turned into a laurel tree. Her name in any case demands the metamorphosis.

3.3 Interpretation

Daphne refuses to advance to the condition of womanhood, though she is now at the appropriate age (compare Danaids, Proitids). She is not expelled into the wild; instead, she seeks it out. Despite the impression that mythology can give, we must guard against the idea that Greek girls or women habitually went hunting. Hunting is for Daphne a sexual reversal, a rejection of womanhood. It is a suitable activity for initiands as it is practised in the wild and employs trickery.¹⁷ Daphne is at the age for initiation; and she is segregated in place from all except those 'other maidens' who assist her in killing Leukippos (giving the lie to Parthenios' idea that she left 'the other maidens' in the town). She lives in marginal terrain, practising the typically initiatory pursuits which mark her as being neither what she was (a girl) nor what at least all other girls become (a woman).

We may recall now the close connection of our Elean Leukippos with the Leukippos of Phaistos on Crete [ch. 3.5.4]. The latter is born a girl but at maturity takes off the *peplos* and becomes a man – this is the *hieros logos* of the Ekdysia (*Undressing*) festival of Leto Phytie. Daphne's Leukippos is different enough to preclude borrowing as an explanation for the fundamental coincidences between motifs, but similar enough to preclude him from being a spontaneous invention of Hellenistic romantics. The *undressing* of Leukippos that is so significant in both stories and has specific ritual application at Phaistos must once, long ago, have had specific ritual application in Elis/Arcadia too; surely there was a link between the populations of the two places. Leukippos is portrayed as a 'son' and this together with sexual reversal again points us to initiation. But there are difficulties: whereas at Phaistos he is able to adopt the masculine role, in the Daphne story he only meets his death. And without Apollo it is not clear how Daphne turns into the tree that justifies her name. So although the Leukippos story has a long enough history, it is not clear that Leukippos in the end forms a satisfactory combination with Daphne (the Hermes and Io problem, ch. 6.5.4).

Daphne and Leukippos individually fall into the category of initiatory myth, but too little information survives to reconstruct a cult story involving them both to the exclusion of Apollo.

Daphne would have to be turned to laurel for some other reason: for instance, the Wrath of the Goddess could punish a Daphne who slept with Leukippos in a hallowed place, like Komaitho with Melanippos. Or is Apollo more essential to this story than we have so far thought? There must be some reason for his presence in later versions and Pausanias could be wrong in his judgement that Apollo is a poetic intrusion, though his weakness in Elean/Arcadian cult is a great difficulty. If in some way genuine, we might emphasize his characterization as a *kouros*, a youth with hair unshorn like Leukippos or Achilles [ch. 3.6] and wonder whether he replaces the dead Leukippos in this story as Achilles replaced him at Tanagra.

And what of the cult? We must be content with broad reference to initiations except in one respect. We have seen a hint of a role for Artemis in Parthenios and Ovid. True, this may simply be poetic embroidery; but girl's initiation usually has a goddess in charge and frequently Artemis. For this story she has a strikingly relevant cult epithet: *Daphnaia*. I know of two instances of this title. The first is at Hypsoi (*Heights*) some miles into the Lakonian mountains above Las. The site is not particularly near Amyklai, which is some forty km to the north, but it shows a possibility of the cult of Artemis Daphnaia in that part of the world which might explain the eccentric parentage which Parthenios (or Phylarchos, with his Spartan sympathies) ascribes to Daphne. But the striking instance is found in Strabo. He has mentioned the cult of Artemis Alpheiousa (at Letrinoi) some eighty stades from Olympia and continues:

To this goddess at Olympia too there is a festival [*panegyris*] celebrated every year, as there is also to Artemis Elaphia and Artemis Daphnia. And the whole country is full of shrines of Artemis, of Aphrodite and of the Nymphs in groves generally full of flowers because of the abundance of water.

Artemis Alpheiousa evidently has the same sort of status at Olympia as Artemis Brauronia has at Athens, and Artemis Daphnaia must have had a similar importance in the hinterland of Olympia to account for her own *panegyris*. This was an area heavily populated in the late Bronze Age, when Olympia was a significant centre. It was a cult somewhere in the neighbouring

countryside to which the myth of Daphne was attached and in which rituals somehow corresponding to the story were held.¹⁸ In particular, the laurel tree which Daphne becomes is her equivalent of the Tomb of the Maiden and must surely have been the focus of the rituals of the girls of the age-class. One may well think of dances around this evergreen tree, which embodies the power of the goddess and displays the final form of that 'avatar' of the goddess on whom the choral leader is based.

4 THE BIRDS OF STYMPHALOS

For our penultimate story, we arrive in Stymphalos, a town situated on the lake of the same name in north-eastern Arcadia next to Mount Kyllene. It was inhabited at least by late Mycenaean times: there are remains of Cyclopic masonry on the acropolis and it is mentioned in the *Catalogue of Ships*. Though obscure in historical times, it had been no insignificant place if Stymphalos was king over the Arcadians and had to be murdered by Pelops because he could not defeat him in war.¹⁹

A remarkable number of authors had told the story of the Stymphalian Birds, another of the Labours of Herakles. In the sixth century, Peisandros of Kamiros in Rhodes (the man who invented Herakles' club) included it in a two-book *Herakleia*. After that it found its way into Pherekydes, Hellanikos and numerous later writers. As frequently, though, we start with the account of Apollodoros, if only because it survives complete:

The sixth labour Eurystheus imposed on Herakles was to drive away the Stymphalid birds. At the city of Stymphalos in Arcadia was a lake called the Stymphalian Lake enclosed by a deep wood. Innumerable birds had taken refuge here, fearing being seized by the wolves. Now, Herakles could not work out how to drive the birds out of the wood, but Athene gave him bronze castanets which she got from Hephaistos. He rattled these on a mountain alongside the lake and frightened the birds: they could not stand the din and flew away in fear. And this is how Herakles shot them.

Do the castanets 'beat' the birds into the open (to be shot) or

drive them away? Though Pherekydes and Hellanikos included the slaughter, Pausanias reports that

Peisandros of Kamiros says he did not kill the birds but that he chased them away with the noise of castanets.

This is, as Jacoby observed, the original version.²⁰

An interesting omission from Apollodoros' account is why these birds need driving away in the first place. Diodoros tells us they ravaged nearby crops (a reasonable thought). Others elaborate fearsomely: there were so many birds that the feathers they dropped suffocated men and animals and prevented crops from growing; or (*semplīce*) the birds were 'man-eating'. This type of portrayal adds them to the mythical menagerie of Harpies and Skyllas, and makes them a suitable model for the nameless but deadly feather-firing hordes of the *Argonautika*.²¹

The Stymphalian Birds are female. Their name is not actually 'Stymphalian' (*Stymphaliai*) but 'Stymphalids', a name of the same structure as 'Danaids' [ch. 7.3.2], making them the daughters of Stymphalos, whether King Stymphalos the eponym or simply the town. They exist as a group, a plurality with an identity, excluding and obscurely menacing others. The narrative is defective because it does not explain why they need to be chased away: what harm do these birds do in their deep wood? That they must be chased is a datum of a different order [ch. 7.5.1.2]. Their habitat is in the wild, in a wood between a mountain and a lake, rather reminiscent of the grove of Lerna, between Mount Pontinos and a river, and marshy itself (a fact of significance for maiden's rites, ch. 7.5.2); but the wild is conveniently placed for the inhabitants of Stymphalos – it is *their* margin. In Stymphalos itself there is an ancient temple, according to Pausanias, of Artemis Stymphalia, whose statue is one of our old *xoana*; this one is generously gilded. It is with this temple that the Stymphalian Birds are associated: 'by the roof of the temple' there are Stymphalid Birds; Pausanias cannot quite discern whether they are wood or gypsum (he inclines to the latter). And behind the temple there are 'white stone' statues of maidens, but they have birds' legs.²²

The expected association with the temple of Artemis is the more remarkable for the fact that Artemis does not figure in the

story as we have it. In local cult for maturing girls the role of Hera is more visible: Pausanias records a tradition of the Stymphalians that there had been an older site of Stymphalos, which he associates with the mythology of Temenos (son of 'Pelagos' – therefore, we are to believe, ancient and autochthonous, but also formative, ch. 7.2), who on this account lived there. He founded three sanctuaries, of which Pausanias can find no trace: of Hera *Pais* ('Child'), Hera *Teleia* ('Grown Up' – usually associated with marrying) and Hera *Chēra* ('Widow'). This enunciates all too neatly the three stages of women's life. But Temenos is more securely fixed to the neighbouring Argolid, from which this Hera cult is an intrusion, as Immerwähr once saw. Artemis is a more suitable figure for moist and therefore lush places.²³

On ritual the myth is highly suggestive. The birds have fled to the wood because they fear the wolves. What wolves? (Do wolves prey on birds anyway?) But becoming a wolf means something different in Arcadia, as Burkert has shown: wolves are what Arcadian warriors must become as they begin the transition to manhood, preserving an ancient Indo-European depiction of the warrior community as wolf pack. The scene looks oddly like that of the Danaids: our maidens with the legs of birds are seeking refuge from the class of youths. Should we think here of the strange association of herons or cranes in the iconography of vases with domestic scenes, women's quarters, and even erotic pursuits? And if these birds are chased from their wild haunt by a Herakles with castanets, that recalls the noisy ritual by which the Sikyonian Melampous drove the Proitids and assorted (if over-age) females from the mountains. Between arrival and departure our only clue is that the girls are birds. It is not difficult to imagine on that basis that there may have been appropriate types of formation dancing and singing. One may think for instance of the crane whose well-known formation flying led to the crane-dance, founded at Delos by Theseus according to the mythology, but in ritual, Calame argues, forming part of a choral rite leading to the status of adulthood. And those who enjoy chancing their arm will note that Penelope, object of a suitors' contest and conceivably Arcadian in origin, derives her name from the *pēnelops*, a type of duck!²⁴

5 KALLISTO

5.1 *Who and where?*

No genealogist can avoid Arkas or, therefore, his mother Kallisto ('Most Beautiful') who associated with Artemis and was transformed into a bear. Her story was told by Eumelos of Corinth (earlier seventh century?), in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, in a genealogical poem by a certain Asios of Samos (sixth or fifth century?), in Pherekydes – and all this long before the likes of Apollodoros, Pausanias, and Ovid. The story has astronomical interest too, if the Great Bear is none other than Kallisto, metamorphosed and transfigured: so she appeared in Eratosthenes' *Catasterisms* (later third century BC) and maybe as early as Hesiod's *Astronomy*.²⁵

She has no father who can claim universal support amongst genealogists or presumably amongst Arcadians. Lykaon, the most favoured, was found in Eumelos or, more probably, Hesiod. He is of considerable genealogical importance for Arcadia and is central to the cult of Zeus Lykaios on Mount Lykaion, in which initiatory youth become wolves (*lykoi*). But there are, as West shows, two distinct genealogical systems in Arcadia: one starts with Lykaon and catalogues local eponyms of communities participating in the cult of Zeus Lykaios; the other starts with Kallisto's son Arkas and refers only to the towns on the eastern side of Arcadia (from Mount Kyllene down to Tegea). This isolates Kallisto and makes the view which Apollodoros attributes to Hesiod (really the view of Eumelos?) much more likely: she was simply a nymph, though evidently from her name the most distinguished one.²⁶

Asios called her father Nykteus ('of the night'), otherwise the name of a Boiotian who has points of contact with our Arcadian story. The Boiotian Nykteus is the son of Hyrieus, eponym of the Neolithic and Mycenaean site of Hyrië near Aulis, and a nymph Klonië. He has a brother Lykos, in which some see 'light' in contrast to Nykteus, but which plainly means 'wolf' and matches our Arcadian material. His daughter Antiope, like Kallisto, is the victim of intercourse with Zeus; and if Kallisto bears Arkas to found the Arcadian nation, Antiope bears Amphion and Zethos who with their music build the walls of Thebes. A Boiotian link

with eastern Arcadia is no surprise (take for instance Atalante, daughter of a Boiotian Schoineus as much as the Arcadian Iasos) and rests ultimately on population movements of the second millennium BC. But Nykteus and Nyktimos are equivalent short forms of some longer name and Nyktimos is known as a 'son of Lykaon', either the eldest or the sole survivor of his sons, with the result that he is the most important to genealogy. It is this Nyktimos, as we have commented before [ch. 7.2], and his unshaped Pelasgians that Arkas and his Arcadians supersede, creating the new order. And a new order needs creating, because it is under the rule of Nyktimos that the great flood of Deukalion occurs, returning man to chaos. So Kallisto is tied into a mythology of the creation of the nation out of darkness and extinction, echoed in Boiotia and surely related to nocturnal rites of new beginnings, whether the Agrionia or Nyktelia there [ch. 3.5.1, 4.3.2] or the rites of Artemis and Dionysos at Patrai [ch. 8.2].²⁷

No less intriguing is Keteus, father in Pherekydes and Araithos of Tegea, an author of *Arkadika* (later third century?), and again a 'son of Lykaon'. At first constellations are tempting: the Whale (*Kētos*) is amongst the constellations as is the Bear (Kallisto). But they are nowhere near each other in the skies, even though in this version Kallisto's mother is Stilbe ('Shining'). Indeed, as we shall see, Araithos identifies Keteus with a different constellation altogether. He is, in fact, an eponym – of the Keteioi, a lost folk of Teuthrania in Mysia. This obscure locale makes a weird reappearance in another eastern Arcadian myth: Auge – the Io of Tegea and *directrice* of nocturnal choroi [ch. 6.4.2] – though condemned to death by her father, is allowed to live and ends up as the wife of Teuthras, the eponymous king of Teuthrania. The result is that her child Telephos, though belonging to the Mysian landscape (and the Attalids of Pergamon will claim descent from him), has Arcadian credentials. So the Keteians belong to an area of Mysia associated in legend with south-eastern Arcadia, near enough to the tomb of Kallisto (as we shall see); and 'Keteus' is alleged as her father. Were there Keteian Arcadian colonists at the beginnings of Greek Teuthrania? And if Keteus is really an eponym from Tegea, is it just coincidence that Araithos of Tegea backed this version of Kallisto's parentage?²⁸

So there are varying local traditions which genealogists employ in the attempt to tie Kallisto into the Arcadian tree of Lykaon, to make her, as Ovid describes her, a 'Lycaonid'²⁹. But the lack of an agreed version points ultimately at the insignificance of fatherhood at the root of the story, and the genealogy of Lykaon is identifiably distinct even as late as our sources of information.

If, however, the local traditions do vary, we would expect the Kallisto story to have more than one site in Arcadia, as indeed it appears to, if we may trust the Arcadian Araithos. He sited the story at Nonakris in the extreme north of Arcadia, over the Aroanian mountains from Lousoi, next to Mount Krathis; he even calls her 'Megisto' ('Greatest') instead, which is a second sign of genuine local differentiation. This version might just have influenced Ovid to call Kallisto the 'Nonacrian Maiden' (*virgo Nonacrina*), by which one would suppose he meant nothing more than 'Arcadian' but for the surprise of Araithos. As for Nonakris itself, little is known of it except that the River Styx was there: in Pausanias' time even its ruins were disappearing. This north-eastern area of Arcadia may have its claim enhanced by the tradition, depicted on coins of Pheneus not far from Nonakris, that Arkas was taken by Hermes to be brought up by Maia on nearby Mount Kyllene.³⁰

The other location is the central Arcadian one implied by our familiar sight, the Tomb of the Maiden, described by Pausanias as follows: 'the tomb of Kallisto, a high mound of earth, with many trees of varieties that bear no fruit and many cultivated ones. At the top [or the edge?] of the mound is a shrine of Artemis Kalliste.' This site is to the south-east of the centre of Arcadia, not visibly in the territory of any city: about five miles to the west of Mainalos, a similar distance south of a 'place' called Anemosa and the ruins of a city Phalanthos, and much the same distance south-west of Dipaia. These are unprestigious places by any standards and seem to have been regarded as a grouping of towns based on Mainalos, without the organized synoikism of Athens or Patrai. Finally, we may add that this location of interest in Kallisto is reinforced by the bones of Arkas: in historical times they are found at Mantinea, but they were alleged to have come from Mainalos.³¹

5.2 *The Story of Kallisto*

Kallisto had vowed to Artemis that she would remain a maiden (Apollodoros, Ovid *Fasti*). The vow exists in order to motivate Wrath of the Goddess which in turn exists in order to necessitate a rite of passage [ch. 6.6]. Now Zeus seduces Kallisto, though perhaps not, as the comic poet Amphis would have us believe, disguised as Artemis! For a while Kallisto escapes notice, but finally all is revealed when she undresses to bathe (Eratosthenes, Ovid). Consequently she is transformed into a bear. When we ask *who* transforms her the problem is even worse than in the case of Io [ch. 6.3]: Zeus, to escape the notice of Hera (Apollodoros); or Hera, in revenge (Callimachus, Pausanias, and Ovid); or Artemis, in anger (Eratosthenes). This opening part of the story (together with the birth of Arkas), which is most central to our concerns, is also the only part which may safely be attributed to Hesiod, a guarantee of middling antiquity and a significant step back towards an original version.³²

The birth of Arkas, son of Zeus and eponym of the Arcadian race, must follow. Only Ovid has Kallisto give birth to Arkas *before* she becomes a bear; the advantage of this for him is that it adds a certain narrative neatness to make the birth the ultimate goad that enrages Hera and triggers the metamorphosis.³³ But there can be no doubt that usually Arkas was born from the *arktos* ('bear') Kallisto.

What happens to Kallisto next? This is a question which authors ancient and modern have been unable to resist. Some prefer a quick disposal: Artemis shoots the bear, according to your version, to gratify Hera, or on Hera's instructions, or because she comes across it unknowingly after Hera has worked the metamorphosis, or deliberately because Kallisto had been unchaste. In this version Zeus usually sends Hermes to rescue the child Arkas from Kallisto's womb whilst he transfigures Kallisto herself into the constellation, the Great Bear. Others wait until Arkas grows up (fifteen years, Ovid tells us). He meets his mother while hunting and is saved from shooting her only by Zeus transforming the pair into constellations (Ovid); or, Arkas chases her (hunting?) into the Lykaion, the sacred grove of Zeus Lykaios that no one may enter on pain of death, and both are saved from execution/sacrifice at the hands of the locals by a

similar intervention of Zeus (Eratosthenes). This last version includes at an earlier point an even more absurd episode: the bear and the baby Arkas are brought by goatherds to Lykaon, solely, as Sale says, so that Arkas may become the (otherwise nameless) child whom Lykaon sacrifices and serves up to Zeus; how he recovers from this fate and stumbles across a bear he has been living with at Lykaon's court for fifteen years, we are not told.³⁴

As the concern to unify Arcadian genealogy by connecting Lykaon and Arkas is late, the gripping melodrama of Arkas in the Lykaion, with which Lykaon is by name and sacrifice connected, is non-original; and the Ovidian encounter of Arkas with his mother is an elegantly simplified version of the Lykaion story. Therefore, except for the stars, the story of Arkas links with that of Kallisto only at birth – as one might expect.

One's first inclination is to suppose, as Franz did, that catasterisms are characteristically Hellenistic, combining increased astronomical learning with mythological documentation. But earlier authors also knew this sort of motif: Pindar knows how the Doves chased by Orion became the Pleiades in the skies. And the Hesiodic *Astronomy* called the Pleiades the *Peleiades*, to bring it nearer to *peleiai* ('doves'), and gave the names of the Hyades and asserted they were nymphs. There is nothing impossible, as Sale has seen, about the *Astronomy* including a catasterism of Kallisto. Indeed, it may even seem likely, as this poem must have set the genre for Aratos' *Phainomena* (on constellations and their mythology) and Eratosthenes' *Catasterisms*. After all, the prior existence of the catasterism of Kallisto may have allowed Eratosthenes to advance to the more recondite (and fragile) identification of Arktouros with Arkas and Araithos to identify the kneeling figure Engonasin with 'Megisto's' father Keteus (stretching out his hands in mute appeal to the gods to restore his daughter to human shape). And if it seems surprising that Aratos fails to refer to the Kallisto story, perhaps it was too obvious – he tells an obscure Cretan story instead.³⁵

In the end, however, it makes no difference whether the catasterism was invented in the Hellenistic Age or in the Archaic Age, which in its way shared much of the former's learned characteristics. An age of the manipulation and sorting of genealogy was also the type of age which would bring some order

to stars and mythology. In fact catasterism, viewed as a device, is of the same category as wandering or moving home in genealogies: it is there to explain by connection. In the sky there is a constellation known as the Bear (when it is not known as the Wain); next to it is a figure known as 'Bear-Guard' (*Arktouros/Arktophylax*) because the Bear is a real bear and not a Kallisto at all in the first place. Where these names originated it is impossible to say with certainty, but astral observation has a ring of the literacy of Near Eastern civilizations. In any case, it is entirely secondary that the constellation should be associated with Kallisto and that her story should then be adjusted to include her catasterism – let alone that of Arkas. The stars must fall from our original myth.³⁶

What, then, of her death? The tomb perhaps demands a corpse in myth (though the argument is not entirely watertight if Iphigeneia, who is 'almost' sacrificed can have tombs, and if we do not learn of the death of Arkas, who has a tomb). The only surviving motif to provide a death for her is that she is shot, and shot by Artemis – whose precinct contains her tomb. This follows well from her oath to Artemis, whose violation is revealed by the act of undressing in the midst of the community of Artemis. But now the role of Hera in the metamorphosis begins to look intrusive: are we to think, with Sale, that the attribution of the metamorphosis to her is 'a complication and a refinement, perhaps borrowed from the story of Io'?³⁷ Certainly in the Io story Hera had an organic role, because Io was a priestess of Hera, whereas Kallisto is, if not a priestess, at least an attendant of Artemis. It may well be that the authors who attribute the metamorphosis to Artemis in fact have the original version. On the other hand, if Artemis transforms her, shooting by Artemis seems redundant – it is as though a murderer were to be sentenced to life imprisonment and then executed.

There are various ways around this impasse. One is to make sense of the role of Hera and to accept it for all its apparent intrusiveness in the midst of an Artemidian story. To take this route, we would have to argue that Artemis and Hera have complementary domains and if the Kallisto myth, as we suppose, belongs to the initiatory fold, then it concerns the passage from one domain to the other. We might revise our view of the coupling of Hera and Artemis in the Proitids story (where in the

Bacchylidean version Artemis is called upon to placate Hera) [ch. 8.2.2] and take back our dismissal of Hera in the region of Artemis' Stymphalian Birds [ch. 8.4]. We might even make use of the fact that Arkas was buried by the altar of Hera in Mantinea.³⁸

A second route, which some have tried though I would not recommend it, is to question the originality of the metamorphosis in the myth. First, you maintain, with for instance Sale and Brelich, that metamorphosis and shooting are to be viewed as alternatives in the accounts we have. This is not easy, as the only accounts which tell of the shooting without also expressly including the metamorphosis are so brief that they leave one free to suppose that the metamorphosis has taken place. And the depiction of Artemis shooting a non-ursine maiden on local Arcadian coins could easily be telescoping due to the difficulty of depicting a whole story on a coin. Secondly, you must account for the bear motif. Brelich holds that metamorphosis and shooting have equivalent significance, just like substitution of a bear for Iphigeneia on the one hand, and being sacrificed on the other as conclusions to the Brauron/Mounichia stories. This, however, would only demonstrate that there were local variants of equivalent significance and that the bear metamorphosis is original in one or more of the variants. Sale prefers to assign the bear motif to Arkas: Arkas had always been the son of an *arktos*, but it was only later that his bear-mother was identified with Kallisto the maiden shot by Artemis. In order to sustain this view, however, it is necessary to dissociate the bear from Artemis and Kallisto and to maintain a Pyrrhonic scepticism on the comparability of Artemis at Brauron and Artemis Kalliste. At the same time, however, this attempt at division of the myth does highlight its two aspects: it is both a myth of a maiden who 'dies' and a *Stammesmythos*, about the origin of the Arcadians. Burkert apparently feels that the *Stammesmythos* aspect in some way tells against the initiatory significance of the myth. But we will finally see how the two aspects work in tandem.³⁹

As neither solution seems satisfactory, it may be best to rest content with the apparent pleonasm of narrative motifs and to regard the extra goddess (Hera) as drawn into the myth by the extra motif (execution). This may then be another of those problems with mythic narrative (like the motivation of the

Danaoi, ch. 7.5.1.2) that can only be resolved by its ritual reference. For the liminal period girls become Bears; after that, at the end of the rite, neither girl nor bear exists any more. Maidenhood is first transmuted, then eliminated.

So to sum up, the myth of Kallisto originally contained these elements:

- (1) the vow of virginity to Artemis;
- (2) the seduction by Zeus;
- (3) discovery whilst undressing to bathe;
- (4) metamorphosis into a bear, by Artemis;
- (5) birth of Arkas;
- (6) shooting by Artemis.

5.3 *The interpretation*

There has been a welcome change in the interpretation of Kallisto. Attention used to be focused on two principal ideas: first that 'Kallisto is none other than Artemis herself', the hypostasis/by-form mode of thought (cf. Iphigeneia), which goes back to K.O. Müller (1825) and has its supporters even in modern times. Secondly, excessive confidence in a theory of the evolution of religion led to the view that 'It is generally agreed that the Greeks once worshipped the gods in the form of animals' (from a 1913 dissertation). Putting the two together, one reaches the syllogistic conclusion that the reason Kallisto turns into a bear is because the Greeks once worshipped a theriomorphic Artemis. More recently, however, scholars have turned rather to Brauron and its Bear ritual, concluding in the words of Henrichs: 'The Kallisto myth is a narrative crystallization of the same ancient initiation patterns which survived in Brauronian cult.'⁴⁰ Kallisto has reached the age for marriage; otherwise, there would be no point in the oath of virginity. She is as singular as Iphigeneia or Io, and the superlative in her name ('most beautiful') probably marks her out as the leader of her class. She certainly belongs to a group of coevals who have taken the same oath or might as well have done. They are no longer girls, because they have grown up; but because of their oath and attachment to Artemis they are not yet women. In addition, they are separated from men, youths, and boys and apparently from habitations, hunting like

Daphne [ch. 8.3.3]. Thus Kallisto and her coevals live as a segregated group between girlhood and womanhood, which in real life is the initiatory group, making the passage from one to the other in seclusion. It is not surprising that Kallisto should be so close to Artemis Kalliste: the relationship of the leading initiate to her coevals, replaying for instance the relationship of Artemis to her nymphs, always draws the two together [ch. 2.5.2, ch. 5.4].

As leading initiate, her story *reverses* a sexual value in the story of her companions: the exceptional Thespiad became priestess of Herakles [ch. 6.4.2] and the exceptional Danaid became priestess of Hera [ch. 7.6]. For Kallisto, as for Io, seduction by Zeus triggers the main action, in a directly comparable sequence of motifs: (a) girl joins the sacred service, a neophyte; (b) seduction by Zeus ends maidenhood; (c) animal form is imposed. The scene of discovery in the Kallisto myth is particularly rich in significance. Clothing is removed, ritually ending the former condition, and recalling the *Ekdysia* of Phaistos and its Leukippos who at the end of his myth undresses to assume masculinity [ch. 8.3.3]. Removing the clothing is said in our myth to reveal the altered condition of Kallisto, but at an earlier stage: it is removed so that she may bathe, a ritual of transition (as at the River Meilichos at Patrai, ch. 8.2.2), from the initial state of girlhood to the liminal state of being a bear, or even from Liminal I (Neophyte) to Liminal II (Bear). The new condition which is being adopted and which requires different clothing is that of Bear – a strident parallel with Brauron excluding coincidence. Maybe, as Sale observes, ‘we hear of no *arktoi* at Tricoloni [i.e. near Kallisto’s tomb], no girls in saffron gowns who sacrifice a goat, no procession with basket carriers, no portico for girls to dwell in.’⁴¹ But what do we hear of cult practices of the Mainalos area anyway? Did they have no festivals? Even our information about Brauron survives by the slightest of threads [ch. 2.6]. In fact, it is one of the pleasures of our inquiry that rituals and a way of life that cannot otherwise be recovered can be discerned in the mythology. And here in the Mainalos district, and maybe elsewhere in Arcadia where the inhabitants took the trouble to have their own version of the myth of Kallisto, it is plain that there was indeed a Bear ritual for successive groups of girls making the transition to womanhood.

Maybe it was only select girls (we cannot tell), but it looks as though they changed their clothing, ritually bathed, and through some form of new clothing became Bears of Artemis. It was before the time of porticoes: one should think of a retreat closer to nature.

There remains the birth of Arkas. This recalls Epaphos in the myth of Io. Birth of the child ends for ever the condition of maidenhood, makes her definitively a woman. As this is the transition with which the rites are concerned, it is correct that the model should present this concept and that the rites should in some way advance to it. But the glory of the Kallisto myth is the association of childbirth with the creation of the whole Arcadian nation: the initiates are replaying the creation of the first Arcadian and in so doing the importance of their own prospective motherhood is enhanced. It is for this reason that the blending of a myth of the end of maidenhood with a *Stammesmythos* makes sense. Only with new recruits to the condition of matronhood, with new Kallistos, can society be restored, renewed, and guaranteed a future. The alternative is a society of Pelasgian nonentities ruled by a man of darkness and facing cataclysmic obliteration.

6 THE CONCEPT OF ARCADIA

It is a story of its own how Arcadia became an image of pastoral simplicity and purity for European literature. But it perhaps blinds us to the lack of unity in the real, ancient Arcadia. Its synoikism did not come until the foundation of Megalopolis in the 360s BC and before that it may be asked what sense of identity was possessed by the scattered and disparate towns and villages classed as Arcadia which in their rich diversity give rise to Pausanias' largest book. In addition, as Arcadian identity in the historical period is formed so much by contrast with the Dorians and West-Greeks of Elis, the Argolid and above all Lakonia, its distinctiveness in the Bronze Age, before the arrival of those other Greeks, would be so much less. This has been confirmed for us by a number of affiliations. The Boiotian link visible for instance in the case of Atalante in south-east Arcadia is also visible in pre-Dorian Argos and Lakonia [pp. 57, 121, 183]. The area of Atalante is also the area of Apheidas whose daughter

Stheneboia is wife of Proitos in Tiryns [ch. 4.5]. Movements of Tirynthians account for the mythology of the Proitids in the north of Arcadia, at Lousoi [ch. 4.5]. And Stymphalos may have undergone some influence on its religion and mythology from the Argolid [ch. 8.4]. The Minyans (strong at Boiotian Orchomenos) leave some traces in the place-name Orchomenos (east-central), the cult of Poseidon Hippios at Methydriion (central) and the affinity with the Triphylians in the west [ch. 5.2, 5.5.2]. And the sacred deer of Despoina at Lykosoura at the south-central fringe [ch. 2.4.4], the whole Brauronian aspect of the Kallisto myth, and of the Aristodemos myth too [ch. 2.2.3] pull us towards the eastern coastline of central Greece [ch. 3.7]. In all this, is there room for an 'Arcadia' or 'Arcadians' in the Bronze Age?

I think there is not, at least in any large geographical sense. What, however, there must be room for, as the mythology shows us, is people who call themselves 'Arkades' and whose mother was Kallisto. These were distinct from those (*Lykaones?) whose mythology centred on Lykaon and Zeus Lykaios at Mount Lykaion in the south-west. Other divisions again include the allotments of the 'sons of Arkas': Azan (Azania, e.g. Kleitor, Pheneus, but also the name of an Athenian deme, Azenia), Apheidias (e.g. Tegea), and Elatos (e.g. Mount Kyllene, Stymphalos). There clearly was great tribal diversity in the uplands of the Peloponnese and the corollary is the absence, so far as we know of any palace in Arcadia. Indeed it was a simple and uncivilized area, notable according to Homer for its winds and its sheep.⁴²

ORIGINS OF A MYTHOLOGY: SOME CONCLUSIONS

Initiationsriten sind, wo immer sie bestehen, die zentralen Feste des Stammes, die entscheidenden Erlebnisse des Einzelnen; denn in ihnen vollzieht sich nicht anderes als die Erneuerung der Gemeinschaft.

(BURKERT (1966) 13)

1 INITIATION: CITY AND TRIBE

Initiations are indescribably common. They are not the result of diffusion or of random spontaneous growth, but an essential part of human nature, however exotic or alien the ritual in which they are clothed. They reflect our perception of the world and of ourselves as existing in certain states or conditions which last for a while and then change regularly into others. In many ways the most important change is from childhood to adulthood, from dependence to responsibility, one which in a sense creates us. It is instinctive in a creature of ritual to recognize and formalize this transition.

In our urban societies the transition concerns itself with registrations, electoral rolls, licences, entitlements, employment, and taxation. Even in classical Athens, there was registration in the deme. But it was not so for the illiterate Greeks we have perceived through myth: for them tribal ceremony, not urban bureaucracy was the means of transition. For the ceremonies and their mythology concerned the identity not only of the initiand but also of the tribe itself. So we discover that when the tribe moves or splits, the mythology (and ritual) is taken with it. Locations, though we have emphasized them heavily, are in the

last resort only resting places. It is scarcely perceptible that the Danaids live in Argos; and we learn of Proitids and Minyads not Tirynthiai and Orchomeniai.

All Greek cities and tribes had their individuality and Athens, because of its dominance of Greek tradition, can mislead us. There the *polis* developed rapidly: the old poets who educated the initiatory age-classes had long disappeared (we hear of no Tyrtaios or Telesillas, unless maybe Solon counts); we look largely in vain for those states of altered consciousness that can characterize women's initiatory and indeed mature rites elsewhere (except in the Eleusinian mysteries, themselves a remarkable development from initiatory practice). We find a confederation of communities where the surviving initiatory rites have lost much of their sense and centrality. Brauron would appear to be a place for the daughters of well-to-do Athenians rather than the local community and ephebes are not far from our conception of military service. The majority of girls must content themselves with a brief rite and a *krateriskos*, if that [ch. 2.3.2.2]. By contrast, in the Troad the custom of group marriage persisted, in Sparta a whole series of age-classes survived in boys' initiations, and in Elis a series of age-classes survived in maidens' races.¹

2 FORMATION OF THE MYTHS: WHEN?

The myths which we have examined are not the product of historical times. The presence of the Proitids myth at Lousoi looks to be a result of populations moving in the twelfth century BC [ch. 4.5] and would not have resurfaced at the Artemis shrine of Lousoi but for its continuing importance. It is, I think, fair to see reflected in stories of Tiryns (Proitids), Orchomenos (Minyads), and Pylos (Melampous) the importance of those centres in Mycenaean times. The same conclusion emerges from lost tribes embedded in the myths: the Danaoi (the Danaids), the *Amythaones (Melampous), the *Pelopes (Pelops), the *Lykaones (Lykaon), or the *Keteioi of Arcadia [ch. 8.5.1] and probably a lost tribal connection in the case of Iasos and his daughter Io. Minyai, Meropes [ch. 8.1], Aones [ch. 8.1], and Dolopes also have little life left in them by historical times. Above all the extraordinary diffusion of the cult and mythology of Achilles amongst the Aeolic peoples displays the antiquity of

his significance [ch. 3.5.1]: Lesbos was colonized around 1400 BC, but the Dolopes reached Skyros before that; and we have no information on when the Minyans that inhabited Triphylia split from those in prestigious (Boiotian) Orchomenos.

But there is another type of diffusion too, which reaches back before these times in the later second millenium. In this type, names and other details change. Though the Proitids remain Tirynthian in Sikyon or Lousoi and Achilles is always a Phthian, Leukippos can belong almost anywhere, whilst still preserving the function of King's Son and, as such, leader of the sacred spring group [ch. 3.5.3]. And the Iphigeneia myth-type has different actors in different versions and varies between deer and bears, as well as displaying, I think, non-coincidental links with the Messenian story of Aristodemos and with Kallisto in southern Arcadia [ch. 2.2.3]. Similarly, the format of the King's Three Daughters as focus for girls' initiations has drifted apart considerably if one rightly connects Minyads, Proitids and Erechtheids. This would mean that there is a stage long antedating the existing localization of myths. To draw chronological conclusions from this, however, one would need to develop a science of 'mythochronology' parallel to the not very successful attempts in linguistics to develop glottochronology – the science of the pace at which languages change and therefore differentiate. But it is at least plain that we could be drawn by this degree of differentiation into times before the Greek tribes settled in Greece.

In both language and ritual one reaches in the end the Indo-European peoples from whom the Greeks descended. Some parts of Greek initiation must go back to the Indo-European era, both on the general grounds that the pre-urban social structure would have demanded it and on more particular comparative grounds, though at present scarcely plentiful. Boys' initiations can be traced back to Indo-European times perhaps more readily than girls'. As long ago as 1940 Przyluski demonstrated the case for ecstatic, or rather 'berserk', packs of initiands denominated as wolves or bears amongst the Indo-Europeans, a tradition which carries on into the tales of werewolves and human sacrifice in Arcadia which Burkert has more recently explored. And work on the *Männerbund* of Indo-European peoples has been applied successfully to Greece.² Even in our own study, we have seen

parallels between the heroes of the *Mahābhārata* and both Achilles/Leukippos and Melampous. Here too fits the Sacred Spring of Italian tradition and its connection with the mythological ventures of Leukippos.

It is, of course, perfectly possible for a society to display developed initiations for boys whilst holding only relatively insignificant individual initiations for girls (to which the term 'puberty rites' is sometimes restricted), but Indo-European society was not, I think, of this type.³ The animal girls of Greek myth, whether cows, deer, or bears, plainly enough correspond to the wolves and bears of the boys' traditions. The Indo-European adolescent group of fifty, is clearly and appropriately instantiated in the Danaids [ch. 7.5.2]. The warrior-maiden Camilla whom we meet in Vergil's *Aeneid*, or at least the institution which her name represents, shows points of contact with the type of young priest/attendant that we discussed in connection with Io [ch. 6.4.2].⁴

It may even be that the name of the Agriania contains a surprising hint of antiquity. It has not been an easy name to interpret, though modern predilection makes us happy with a derivation from *agrius* ('wild') which ancients seem to have exploited. The *-n-* remains difficult to explain on this hypothesis. Meanwhile, in Sanskrit, there is a complex of phonological shapes around a form such as *āgrāyana* relating to offerings made after the rainy season of first-fruits, after which the night follows that is the 'consort of the year' and ushers in not only the new year, but also (apparently) a cycle (*yugá*) of five years. It appears that this word was felt anomalous in Sanskrit – the lengths of vowels vary strangely, it is sometimes extended to become *Āgrahāyana* as though that could be a month-name meaning 'beginning of the year (*hāyaná*)', which it cannot because the first vowel is the wrong length (the word for 'beginning' is *agra* not *āgra*) – so that is sometimes changed as well! The notion that the festival begins a cycle of years at night suggests, though I freely admit that no other ritual connection I know of survives, that both Greek and Indian problems should be resolved by supposing that **Āgrāiania* or suchlike was an Indo-European festival, and that neither the Greeks, nor the Sanskrit writers, nor we ourselves have any notion what the word meant.⁵

So there is a range of pointers to an Indo-European origin for

SOME CONCLUSIONS

our type of myth and ritual, even possibly including a festival name. But it is the Vestal Virgins at Rome who may supply the most powerful parallel.

3 THE VESTAL VIRGINS

When we touched on the Vestal Virgins in connection with Io [ch. 6.4.2], we noted that the thirty-year period of continence which they undergo was apparently a significant difference from the passage rites we are discussing. However, the mythology of the Vestals – just like the mythology of Io – points away from the lifelong-maiden priesthood, and there is a tradition stated by Dionysios of Halikarnassos (without any indication that it is controversial) that not only were there originally four (rather than six) Vestals but that their period of service was ‘not less than five years’. This is no mistake in the manuscripts of Dionysios, as is sometimes thought, because the myth stresses what happens in the *fourth* year of the priesthood of the Vestal Ilia. It fits with our picture of the *Arrhephoroi* and of the Bears at Brauron that the Pontifex Maximus chooses the Vestals when they are in the 6-10 age range. They prepare cakes like the *Arrhephoroi*, they clean the temple like Bears who *periepein* the shrine [ch. 2.3.2.4]. And they adopt costume and hairdress appropriate to the moment of marriage. Indeed, their status, as Beard has shown, in a sense overrides the maiden/matron distinction and even the woman/man barrier; from our point of view, they are in a no-man’s-land typical of the liminal stage of initiation.

In the myth, Ilia (the Rhea Silvia of Livy) is a princess, the daughter of Amulius, a rather pale figure who has been deprived of the throne rightfully his by Numitor. Numitor makes her a Vestal to avoid her becoming married and giving birth. So she is a maiden at the point of marriage, to which this period of five years stands in some negative relationship. She is, however, seduced by Mars (compare Amymone, Io, or Kallisto) and as a result is put to death (Death of the Maiden, notably Kallisto, ch. 8.5.2). Her children are Romulus and Remus, the eponymous founders of Rome, whose own story appears to display the structure of Indo-European hero-myths. The closeness of Ilia to Auge [ch. 6.4.2], Kallisto, or Io has recently been observed by Bremmer.⁶

If we can trust this myth and if it is not for the most part the invention of Greek authors perverting the very different sense of a Roman institution, then the Roman institution itself has developed (in a distinctive and complex manner) from the sort of initiatory pattern we see in Greek myths. In turn, this would encourage the supposition that the whole pattern of girls' initiations based on the mythic experiences of kings' daughters goes back to Indo-European times. The Vestals have often enough been seen as developing from the daughters of the kings of Rome and certainly they lived in the Regia, under the paternal authority of the Pontifex Maximus. In this role he was surely the successor of the king, just as at Athens the King Archon 'looked over', apparently meaning 'appointed', the *Arrhephoroi*. In the Regia ('Royal' house, palace) the Vestals watched over the sacred flame – like Chryseis or the other priestesses of Hera in the 'Argive' Heraion. This is, of course, the most important flame in the community, the one that a new fire ceremony would need to renew.⁷

4 PRESIDING DIVINITIES

It may seem shocking or insensitive to those used to structuralist approaches to systems of gods to assert that goddesses appear largely interchangeable in our study and it is doubtless true that reconstructions of lost rituals, as of ancestral languages, will oversimplify and lose complexities and anomalies. Within a historical Athenian system one can doubtless distinguish the sphere of Demeter from that of Athene, and that in turn from the sphere of Artemis.⁸ But synoikism is a powerful force in making such distinctions available by combination of divinities from different locales, and local systems may in origin have been much simpler.

When we meet bears and deer, or come across the sacrifice of a maiden, we are generally in the company of **Artemis**; and 'nymphs' are her regular companions. But errant cow-maidens, tamer if perhaps more distraught, go with **Hera** the 'cow-faced' goddess. This is not a choice of format making fine distinctions within a single system, but local, tribal variation with perhaps totemic undertones. To this we can add **Demeter**, seen through the Thesmophoria above all as a woman's goddess (though not,

SOME CONCLUSIONS

for instance, at Argos); it may fit this distinctive role of Demeter that we are remarkably short of maidens being initiated through and into her cult. But even there the myth of Persephone's loss to death only to be married and to allow renewal of the earth's powers demands a role for maidens' passage rites, as for instance at Eleusis where Persephone is simply denoted as *Kore* and is sought by night. *Kore* should be viewed as Demeter's Iphigeneia.

Cows, bears, and deer imply animal costume. Yet the only animal-skin belonging to the mature woman, which one would have expected her to gain at initiation, is the *nebris* in the cult of **Dionysos**. We perhaps think of Dionysos above all as the god of (mature) ecstatic women – and indeed there is his Agrionia in Boiotia or his man-smashing in Chios to support that picture [ch. 4.3.2]. But he also fits into patterns associating him with other gods: it is Dionysos who rescues children from the savage sacrifice demanded by Artemis Triklaria [ch. 8.2.2], and it is Dionysos Melanaigis ('of the black goatskin') who is associated with Zeus Phratrios and Athene Phratria at the Apatouria in Attica when new adults are received into the community. **Athene** appears elsewhere too: in her honour the Arrhephoroi weave the robe and to her Locrian maidens are sent as tribute [ch. 6.4.2]. Meanwhile at Sparta, the two *korai parthenoi* known as Leukippides (shall we compare 'Leukippos'?) weave a chiton for Apollo Amyklaios but are associated in cult with the *Dionysiades* ('daughters of Dionysos') – who number eleven and organize a foot-race like the Sixteen at Elis, who however do so in honour of Hera and themselves weave the robe!⁹ The significance of one god rather than another is perhaps not great, as we can even see from the Proitids whose place in the Hera cult at Tiryns can be reassigned to the Artemis cult at Lousoi. This is what one would expect if the gods belonged to the substratum but the institutions and the broad shape of the mythology to the Indo-European inheritance [cf. ch. 9.6].

5 CONTEXT OF MAIDENS' RITES

Maidens' rites do not occur in a vacuum, in isolation from other groups in society or from society as a whole. Though in the liminal period the maidens are indeed isolated, part of an exclusive band of Artemis, or housed in a remote cave in the

Aroanian mountains [ch. 4.3.5], in the end they must be incorporated into the society of adult women. At the Halai Tauropolia we hear of women and maidens dancing through the night [ch. 2.3.3.2], as they must also have done at the Boiotian Agrionia [ch. 4.3.2]. The Danaids' involvement at Lerna brings them to a *women's* religious site [ch. 7.5.2], and their mythology of pursuit, though echoed by the pursuit of the Proitids (at least at Sikyon), cannot be divorced from the pursuit of women at Orchomenos and elsewhere [ch. 4.3.2]. We saw too how Bacchylides' Proitids when released from their condition founded women's dances [ch. 4.2.1]. At initiation girls graduate from Kore ('Maiden') to Demeter (De-'mother'), they gain at Aulis the *nebris* which women will wear at the Agrionia at Thebes.

Though initiations, leading into the different adult roles of men and of women, must treat maidens and youths separately, the youths will be the husbands of the maidens and therefore come into sight not infrequently. Melampous with his band of youths rounds up Proitids at Sikyon to marry him and his brother; at 'Phylake' he wins cattle by a year's seclusion, but his brother still gets a wife; Hermes, when not rustling cattle from Apollo, seems to be trying to rustle the Io-cow from Argos for Zeus [ch. 6.5.4]. The Danaids are chased by one set of youths and end up marrying another, and the Stymphalids hide in a wood in fear of the 'wolves' [ch. 8.4]. The stories of Melanippos and Komaitho [ch. 8.2.2], of Koresos and Kallirrhoë [ch. 8.2.3], of Daphne and Leukippos, even of Iphigeneia and Achilles or Penthesilea and Achilles [ch. 3.5.2] seem to blend the interests of both sexes and the first is associated with a ritual for children of both sexes at Aroë (Patrai), which in turn recalls a ritual of similar moment performed at Corinth by seven boys and seven girls in honour of the children of Medea. The answer seems to lie in the scene which we cited [ch. 2.4.4] from Xenophon of Ephesos' romance of Anthia and Habrokomes: at a communal festival leading roles are reserved for select youths and maidens *and marriages are arranged*.

Group marriage has constantly been implied by our group nubility rites and constitutes the ultimate rite of incorporation. There is little point in being cast out of your father's home at Tiryns [ch. 4.3.4] if you are only to return there until he arranges a marriage for you and casts you out again: spinsterhood, the

SOME CONCLUSIONS

condition of adulthood without marriage, is simply not envisaged. The only condition available is the transitional one of *nymphē*, a nymph of Artemis, an about-to-be-wed, or a newly-wed [ch. 5.4] – a transition complete with the birth of the first child. Myths may indeed exaggerate, just as advertising knows only model families, but group marriage is known from the Troad, is implied by Xenophon of Ephesos and even leaves its traces at Athens where Aristotle can speak of a time of year favoured for marriages and Souda connects a specific day with marriages:

Proteleia: This is the name of a day on which parents take the maiden who is being married to the goddess (Athene) on the Acropolis and perform sacrifices.¹⁰

It may be added that boys' rites and girls' rites are likely to follow the same calendrical pattern and that this too is likely to bring them into association. At Athens the Apatouria, at which youths were incorporated into the phratry, was held at the same time as the Thesmophoria, the principal rite of women's society, and an offering at the Apatouria, called *Gamelia*, concerned marriage and may have been performed on the occasion of presenting new brides to the phratry.¹¹

Spring is the most important time for Artemis festivals [ch. 2.4.6] and the Agrionia itself is a late spring festival – we remember the month Agrianios sometimes follows the month of Artemis festivals [ch. 4.3.2]. Initiations are a very special form of renewal, not necessarily held every year but only, for instance, in the fourth year – making it a special year indeed [ch. 2.3.2.3], one that ushers in a new cycle, a new *yugá* [ch. 9.2]. This spring, in the exceptional form of the Sacred Spring, creates an entirely new society, a colony populated by a particular age-class, led by its Leukippos [ch. 3.5.3]. But usually the age-class simply renews an existing society. Yet this too is of vital importance and the alternative should be understood: without the recruitment of new adults society would die out, and without initiation there would be no new adults; in particular, without adult women there will be no addition to the population. The mythology presents us with whole communities dying from plague or famine: at Mounichia, Brauron, probably Aulis, in Messenia [ch. 2.2.3], at Patrai, Kalydon, even in 'Aonia' [ch. 8.1.3]. Time and again, the only answer is the ultimate sacrifice: death of the Maiden. Without the

elimination of maidens by initiation into matronhood, there will be no renewal and there would be no tribe. Kallisto is needed to produce Arkas [ch. 8.5.3] and Antiope to produce Amphion and Zethus, twins who will build the walls of Thebes [ch. 8.5.1].

Initiation is a time of crisis for society as well as for the age-group. At Patrai the selective initiation of boys and girls is accompanied by nine citizen men and nine women, creating a microcosm of the whole society, whose essence must be recaptured by a repeat of the creative act of synoikism [ch. 8.2.2]. The festival happens at night, a hallmark of many rites we have examined: dancing at Halai [ch. 2.3.3.2], or the dances Auge arranged at Tegea [ch. 6.4.2], mud-daubing at the Alpheios [ch. 5.4], Bears on *krateriskoi*, torch in hand [ch. 2.3.2.4], a possible association of the Danaids with Dionysos' nocturnal rites at Lerna [ch. 7.5.2], Kallisto's son Arkas a successor to the Pelasgian man 'of the Night' [Nykteus, ch. 8.5.1], but above all the great emotional rite of Boiotia, the Agrionia or Nyktelia in which society must be inverted to be renewed. These are the times when the awesome force of fire must be renewed – brought from the remote sanctuary of Artemis Pyrhonia and needing the care of the Vestals at Rome or of Io's priestess in Argos. Perhaps, as Hommel has argued, the creation of fire had originally, in Indo-European times, been regarded as a sexual act which could only be entrusted to maidens.¹² In any case, the phenomenon of nocturnal initiation and renewal rises above the particular rituals and even divinities that we have met.

6 GREEK MYTH AND RITUAL

Greek rites have two particular hallmarks in relation to world initiation rites. One is the recurring emphasis on selectivity. One can expect mythology to deal in ideal families and, like colour magazines, to be obsessed with royal families. But this emphasis recurs in ritual where participants are repeatedly socially select [ch. 2.3.2.2, 6.4.2], a trend which reaches into Indo-European culture, whereas in modern world rites 'maturity rituals are normally mandatory, in that all individuals must go through them' (La Fontaine 103). Greek rituals, or at least their full version, and Indo-European rites too, in respect of their

SOME CONCLUSIONS

participation may even deserve comparison with 'Secret Societies' rather than general initiation practice.

The other special hallmark of Greek rites is their attachment to cult of the gods, something as difficult as the gods themselves to trace back to Indo-European culture (we have no reason to suppose Artemis, Athene, or probably Hera to have been inherited). Cult of the gods has conditioned the mythology and given it an ambience in which to flourish, though it is not a *sine qua non*, as the apparently god-free grave of Iphinoë [ch. 1.1] or the nearly atheist myth of the Danaids [ch. 7.5.2] warn us. Mythology is the real preservative. Rites are mere behavioural patterns, not necessarily leaving us any archaeological clues to their existence [ch. 6.4.1]. Unnoticed and unremarked, they gradually lose importance and pass out of currency as urbanism advances; by the time they would seem remarkable, they are usually forgotten (hence in our own times initiations are usually described as a feature of other, exotic, cultures). Narratives, on the other hand, are memorable, entertaining and capable of re-use. Mythology, precisely because it was no longer perceived as a handmaiden of initiation rites, could live on, reapplied and modified for new audiences, whilst like a fossil retaining the shape of initiation. Our analysis, though pressing at the bounds of speculation (beyond which lies no knowledge, only guess-work), is not just one way of recovering these rites: it is, in fact, liable to be the only extensive method available. If the method succeeds, it does so because of the exceptional preservative effect of the unique blend of religion, mythology, and literature that infused Greek culture.

Though I have only cited a selection of myths and referred to a selection of Greek communities, I think the range is sufficient to enable the reader to judge whether the method delivers results. Perhaps individual details are questionable, perhaps some imprecision and insensitivity results from the sparseness of the material or from the author's lack of knowledge or ingenuity, but the cumulative weight of the examples and a certain measure of coherence in my opinion justify our working hypotheses [ch. 1.3].

There may be doubt over the validity of our conclusions, but there can be no doubt over their importance if valid. This book, if reliable, lays down a basic and primary approach appropriate to a very large number of Greek myths and legends. It asks

DEATH AND THE MAIDEN

questions which are so fundamental that they seem pedestrian or old-fashioned beside more sophisticated treatments of mythology: How has this story evolved? Where is it, or was it originally, set? Who were the people for whom it was important? Which holy site is this myth to be connected with? What do its motifs tell us about the concerns of maidens and the corresponding ritual? How close is it to other such stories? By what sort of diffusion can similarities be accounted for? By recent poets or antiquarians? By a sixth-century BC penchant for a particular wandering prophet, or by imperialist propaganda? By migrations of city-dwellers or of tribes in the Dark Age or the Bronze Age, or by the common Indo-European inheritance? Though more advanced questions must be asked and most certainly are not excluded by this approach, it seems to me unwise to attempt them before these basic questions have been answered to the best of our ability.

NOTES

- For the manner of reference to modern authors, see the Bibliography.
- Abbreviations for ancient authors generally follow Liddell-Scott-Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th edn, Oxford, 1940, except:
 - Ap = Apollodoros, *Bibliothēke*
 - Aesch = Aeschylus
 - P = Pausanias.
- Homer's name is not mentioned in citing *Iliad* and *Odyssey*
- Σ means *scholiast* and ΣT means the *scholiast in manuscript T of*.
- Akousilaos *FGH* 2F22 (*POxy* 13.1611), e.g., means that Akousilaos *FGH* 2F22 in fact is *POxy* 13.1611.

CHAPTER ONE ORIGINS OF A MYTHOLOGY

- 1 P 1.34.1; 1.43.3.
- 2 Maidenhood and virginity, Sissa esp. 1125-30; application of *parthenos*, also Brelich 161.
- 3 Nilsson 337, Brelich 71 n. 59, 80 n. 88. As marriage-custom, Frazer (1897) iii 279-81, Stengel 92, Eitrem 364 (a rite of separation). Recipient divinities, Nilsson 137. *Ephebeia*, Hesych. s.v. *oinisteria*; *koureotis*, Hesych. s.v.; 'offenbar' the same offering, Deubner 234, Schmitt 1059.
- 4 Stability of myth, cf. Graf (1985b) 56, 11.
- 5 Recovering an original version goes back to the beginnings of the modern study of myth, to Heyne, Graf (1985b) 17; Graf (1985b) 111f. stresses the problems.

CHAPTER TWO
THE NORTH-EAST

- 1 Aesch. *Ag.* 192-257, *Lucr.* 1.83-102, *Ap. Epit.* 3.21f.; see also e.g. *Ov. Met.* 12.24-38.
- 2 Against the Mysian expedition: Jouan 265 n 1 ('c'est bien entendu, le seul rassemblement, puisque Homère paraît ignorer l'expédition de Mysie'), West 155 (the Telephos story 'parasitic on the Troy saga' and post 700 BC); Robert 970, 1139 n. is probably right to view the Telephos story as an independent colonization myth, squeezed into a colonization cycle. Independent Mysian expedition, Carpenter 54-9, Kullmann 202. *Hes. fr.* 23a. The name 'Iphimede' is scarcely more original than 'Iphigeneia', though an 'Iphemedeia' receives offerings in a Linear B tablet at Pylos: PY Tn 316 (Kn O2, # 172 in Ventris and Chadwick 286-8).
- 3 ΣA *Il.* 9.145a (Aristarchus?); *Il.* 2.284ff., 9.184ff. (284ff.). Kjellberg 2603. Kretschmer (1920) 48; ΣT on *Il.* 9.486, 14.194, 24.699f., Severyns (1928) 259, 262, 266.
- 4 Kullmann 199 envisages the possibility that Homer based the real offer of marriage on the pretended offer of Iphigeneia to Achilles. Reference to Iphigeneia, *Il.* 1.106-8; Séchan 379 n. 9 (citing Th. Zielinski, *Tragodumenon*, 242f.), Clement 394 and Kullmann 198 ('Der Kyprieninhalt wird in diesem Punkte wiederum als alt erwiesen').
- 5 Wilamowitz (1883) 250f.; Kjellberg 2604; Jouan 265, cf. Wilamowitz 250 ('keine Grund liegt vor, ihn nicht für eine Erfindung des Dichters zu halten'). Stesichoros *fr.* 217 Page has the marriage motif too, probably from Stasinos.
- 6 Dion. Call. 90 (*Geog. Gr. Min.*, ed. C. Müller, Paris, 1855) 'Shaft': P 9.40.11f.; contrast H. von Geisau, *KIP* s.v. Agamemnon; Nilsson 209 mentions Shaft as 'offenbar ein Grabfund', a pedestrian explanation; Robert 1020 rightly judges it 'ein Fetisch, ein uraltes anikonisches Idol'. Agamemnon in general, Robert 1018-21; in art, *LIMC* I 273. Pelops, West 157-9 cf. Robert 218, F.H. Stubbings *CAH* II.1 639. Shrine at Mycenae generally thought to be an invention of the Archaic Age [cf. ch. 2.5.2], resulting from the attribution of rediscovered Bronze Age graves to heroes famous from epic, e.g. Burkert (1977) 313f. (203f.); but some sites and cults are earlier than this view allows. And the late Geometric site of Mycenae is in a peculiar position quite devoid of graves, though obvious enough graves were available elsewhere (cf. Cook 33). Sparta and Amyklai, Wide 333-9. Zeus Agamemnon, Staphylos *FGH* 269F8 and Jacoby ad loc., Lycophr. 335, 1369f., Cook ii 1069f., Burkert (1977) 315 and n.23 (205 and n.23). Amyklai, P 3.19.6, cf. Pind. *P.* 11.48, but according to Robert 1019 a by-product of identification of Alexandra with Kassandra. Klazomenai etc., Graf 395f, P 7.5.11.
- 7 Lloyd-Jones 95; *Stes. fr.* 191 Page (Theseus), *Plu. Thes.* 31

- (Enarsphoros). Old hypothesis of a Thessalian Agamemnon, Cauver 153, critique Crusius 752-7.
- 8 Ap *Epit.* 3.21, 2.10; Atreus' ram, Severyns (1928) 229-31 (*Alkmeonis*), Jouan 269f. (also Stesichoros and Eur. *Alkmeon*). Soph. *El.* 566f., cf. the sacred goat in ΣA *Il.* 1.108-9b (not Stasinos according to Severyns (1928) 296); the goat derives from the offering at Brauron and Mounichia (contrast Jouan 266 n.4). Eur. *IT* 20f., which Robert 1095f. perversely takes as the oldest form of the story; other approaches, Séchan 376 n.4 and Wilamowitz (1883) 253f. Aesch. *Ag.* 123-58, cf. Lloyd-Jones 87 and n.3.
 - 9 Robert 1096.
 - 10 *Kypria* 104.14f. Allen, Ap *Epit.* 3.21, Aesch. *Ag.* 188-98, Eur. *IT* 15. Eur. *IA* 10f., 352, 1323f., 1596 gives the impression that the winds are just in the wrong direction or that the fleet was becalmed, cf. Robert 1099 and n.7.
 - 11 Ap 3.13.8, *Epit.* 5.8 (but Helenos not Kalchas at *Ilias Parva* 106.24 Allen); *Il.* 2.299-330, *Kypria* 104.1-3; Virg. *Aen.* 2.185, Quintus Sm. 12.3ff. (but not Ap *Epit.* 5.14 or, apparently, *Ilias Parva* 107.2f.).
 - 12 Hes. fr. 278. Inscr. cited by Löffler 46 n.1 (A.M. Mansel, *Arch. Anz.* (1956) 110), scarcely authoritative; E. Olshausen, *KIP* s.v. Perge. Pamphylia, Soph. fr. 180 Radt (Str. 14.1.28 [643], 14.5.16 [675]). Megara, P 1.43.1; Hyg. *Fab.* 97.15 Rose baldly sites him at Mycenae, but could be right. Chalcedon, Hesychios Miles. *FGH* 390F1 §21.
 - 13 Hes. *Sc.* 181, Pind. *P.* 4.336-40. This Aeolization of Mopsos is the odder for the origin of his name in a language of Asia Minor.
 - 14 Eur. *IT* 28f., *IA* 1587 (if by Euripides). Nic. fr. 58 Schneider (Ant.Lib. *Met.* 27, cf. *Et. Mag.* 747.52ff. s.v. Tauroposlos), Wilamowitz (1883) 260. Eur. *IT* 1452-7 (see also below on Tauroposlos). Phanod. *FGH* 325F14 (*Et. Mag.* 747.52ff.), Euph. fr. 91 Powell (Σ *Ar. Lys.* 645).
 - 15 Solmsen esp. 353 and 357 ('that the brutal version which Aeschylus used was the original one is intrinsically probable'); Jouan 268 n.1 thinks the *Kypria* improves on the story's morality by debrutalizing it; but Henrichs 198 n.1 speaks of 'the leitmotif of animal substitution . . . eventually challenged by the more severe motif of human sacrifice actually performed', cf. also Reinach 6. Aesch. *Ag.* 248f., Nic. Poetic purposes, Henrichs 198f., Fraenkel ii 141 n.3. Pind. *P.* 11.36 (date relative to the *Ag.*, Bowra 404); Stes. not their common source, cf. fr.215 Page. Soph. *El.* 576 follows Aeschylus (though his *Chryses* did not, Hulton 364 n.1). It is not clear whether substitution negates the actuality of slaughter or what, in that case, Agamemnon and the Greeks are meant to perceive, Hulton (1962) *passim*. The moment of metamorphosis is depicted on an Apulian volute crater, *LIMC* I.2 Agamemnon 30.
 - 16 Tauroi/Tauroposlos, Lloyd-Jones 96, cf. Eur. *IT* 1454. Bulls, e.g. in Crete, cf. Burkert (1977) 73f. (37f.) and NB ch. 2.4.2 *fin*. Tauric priestess, Ap *Epit.* 3.22, Eur. *IT* 34; cf. Nic. Brauron and Halai: Kondis 159, Brelich 276-8. Clay tablets of Artemis riding a bull from

- Brauron (Kondis 188 and pl. 102) weaken the case of Grégoire 90 that Artemis at Brauron is only known as Tauropolos or Taurike in late texts.
- 17 Hes. fr. 23a, Stes. fr. 215 Page (Philod. *piet.* p.24 Gomp.), cf. P 1.43.1 (from Philod., Wilamowitz (1883) 252). Cult of Artemis Enodia, Farnell ii 601 n.23e; ‘doublet’ of Hekate, *ibid.* 516.
 - 18 Locheia, Séchan 369, 371. Orsilocheia is not, *pace* Wilamowitz (1883 260) a *redende Name*, because *Orsi-* has no workable meaning. Amm. 22.8.34; Hdt. 4.103. Slaughters Greeks: Hdt., ‘Eur.’ *IT* 39. White Island, Amm. 22.8.35, Hommel e.g. 65f.
 - 19 P 1.43.1, 7.26.5, 2.35.1; Helen, 2.22.6f. (going back to Stesichoros).
 - 20 The exception is *Anecd. Bekk.* 1.444, probably a contamination of the Mounichian story with the Brauronian (cf. Deubner 205f. and Sale (1975) 277), but as I argue that the two were originally identical, the precise relationship does not matter. Proverb account: *Souda* s.v. Embaros, Eustathios *ad Il.* 2.732, Apostolios 7.10, *Append.prov.* 2.54, (the sources are collected at Brelich 248f.); stemmatic treatment, Sale 276.
 - 21 Probably not ‘dressing the goat as his daughter, he sacrificed it’.
 - 22 Three other versions together make up Σ Ar. *Lys.* 645: (A) αἱ ἀρκευόμεναι . . . ἀνηλικότες τῇ θεᾷ with *limos* and Athenians; (B) ἄρκτος τις δοθεῖσα . . . (C) οἱ δὲ καὶ λοιμώδη νόσον . . . ἀρκεύσειεν τῇ θεῷ. *Pace* Brelich 249 and Osborne 166, I do not think the bear blinds the girl in version (B) – ὄψις only means ‘face’, as indeed it still can in Modern Greek.
 - 23 Brelich 253. Osborne 162f. exaggerates the difference between the two versions.
 - 24 Eur. *IT* 1462-4, cf. Euph. fr. 91 Powell (Σ Ar. *Lys.* 645) who learnedly describes the tomb as a cenotaph, referring to her immortalization, Sale (1975) 281. Jeanmaire 263, Pfister 133. Aesch. *Ag.* 239, Sourvinou-Inwood (1971), Osborne 164.
 - 25 Mounichian *Arktea*: Sale (1975) 277, Nilsson 475 n.6, Kahil (1965) 26 n.36. Dressing and hiding, Brelich 256–8. NB how Sale 281 edits the oracle out without comment.
 - 26 Burial, Brouskari 30 (I doubt that ages can be determined with quite this precision). ‘Now it is a curious fact that the two Brauronian aitia can be combined into a single tale, and that the result is startlingly similar to the Embaros story’, Sale (1975) 280.
 - 27 Sale (1975) 282-4. Kallisto and bears, Jeanmaire 267, Lloyd-Jones 98. Atalante, Ap 3.9.2, Ael. *VH* 13.1. Aristodemos, P 4.9; historicization of Messenian myth, cf. the myth of Limnai at the border of Lakonia and Messenia: P 4.4.2-3, Calame 254 ff., Brelich 164 n.156.
 - 28 By this I hope to avoid Graf’s (1985b: 56) critique of Propp: ‘der Sprung von der Erzählstruktur zum Ritual bleibt willkürlich’.
 - 29 Schachter 96f., E. Meyer *RE Suppl.* XII s.v. Aulis, *PrEnc* s.v. Aulis; P 9.19.6–8, *Il.* 2.303–7, Hes. fr. 23. Altars and trees, Kahil (1965) 27, Sourvinou-Inwood (1985) *passim*. Pliny, HN 16.217.

- 30 Kondis (1967) and Kondis in Melas 49–57. *Parthenon*, L. and J. Robert REG 75 (1963) 135 with Brelich 260; Kondis 170 and n.55. Same as *adyton*, Kahil (1977) 96f., Simon 86 n.65, cf. Lloyd-Jones 93.
- 31 Lack of publication, Lloyd-Jones 92. *Athenaia* is not parallel to *Brauronia* because it is derived from ‘Athene’ not ‘Athens’. Kondis 159 and cf. *LIMC* II 674; but Str. 9.1.22 [399] contrasts Artemis Brauronia at Brauron with Tauropolos at Halai. Brelich 246 argues that our evidence for Tauropolia refers not to Halai, but to Brauron, but Deubner’s (1932: 209) emendation of Hesychios makes this difficult.
- 32 *Arrhēphoria* initiatory, Burkert (1966) esp. 13 with ref. to earlier literature; doubt at Calame 238 based on undue worry about age range, cf. ch. 2.3.2.3; Zeitlin 151–3 agrees with Calame more because she is examining the sense of the system of festivals in historical times. Universal participation, Parke 140, Cole 242; limited universal participation at an earlier stage for *Arrhēphoria* but full rites only for the select, Burkert (1966) 19f. Privilege, Bremmer (1978) 15.
- 33 Brelich 263–5, 237, even challenging the number of the *Arrhēphoroi*; size of sanctuaries rules out universal participation, Vidal-Naquet in Gordon 180. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 54. Successive segregation, Brelich 264 n.73, M.S. Goldstein, *The Setting of the Ritual Meal in Greek Sanctuaries: 600–300 BC*, Diss. U.C., Berkeley (1978) 122 and n.248 (cited by Cole 242 n.54). *Krateriskoi* except at Artemis Agrotera, Kahil (1977) 88; Kahil (1965) 23f., (1977) 87f. Kahil (1965) 24f., Simon 86.
- 34 Limited participation, cf. Burkert on the *Arrhēphoria* (n.32 above). Lysistrata’s boast would not work, Wernicke 1171. Local factory supplying Halai and Brauron, Kahil (1981) 254. Pot smashing, cf. Burkert (1972) 74 (62) (marriage custom), Graf 329 (Erythrai). Tithing, Did. ap. Harp. s.v. *dekateuein* citing Lysias; Harp. also cites Demosthenes’ lost speech against Medon, but his suggestion that *dekateuein* refers to the age of 10 is impossible; cf. Wernicke 1171, Jeanmaire 259, Brelich 266 (with texts).
- 35 Parke 140 misses the implication too. Kondis 182; Mommsen (cf. Wernicke 1171) supposed age 10 to 15; Deubner 207 n.4 supports Σ against Mommsen 453 n.6; age on vases, Kahil (1965) 25 (reporting Karouzou), 22, (1977) 86. The textual options are: (a) emend the text, with Sourvinou-Inwood (1971) (but very awkward, Lloyd-Jones 92 n.32) or with Stinton (attempting to improve on Sourvinou-Inwood), or by transposing lines 642 and 643; (b) consider Ar. to have made a mistake on a point of detail; (c) interpret the imprecision either not to matter or to add to the comedy of heaping up qualifications.
- 36 ‘The stages are those of a pseudo-cycle’, Vidal-Naquet 197f. (Gordon 179), Lloyd-Jones 93 n.33, contrast Cantarella 22. Brelich 271f. Jeanmaire 260, Lloyd-Jones 93. Lowering, Brelich 22; C.M.N. White ap. Turner 152. *Arkteia* parallel to *Arrhēphoria*, Burkert (1966) 19 n.2.

- 37 Age of puberty, van Gennep 66 n.1; Hp. *Coac.* 21.321 Kühn (puberty at 14, maturity ends at 42 – all 7's!), Arist. *HA* 581a–b (male and female), ΣB Aeschin. 3.122 (= Didymos; male), Galen *Comm. in Hp. Aphorismos* 5.7 17.2.791 Kühn (puberty begins 'after 2nd hebdomad', NB). Ethnology, La Fontaine 142, 163, 167, 177f., Van Gennep 85. Sourvinou-Inwood (1971) 339, cf. Brelich 28, 63 n.37, 108 n.153 and the excellent discussion by Osborne 165; Wernicke 1171, Jeanmaire 259f. *Arrhéphoroi*, Brelich 269. Corollaries: the pentetericity of the Panathenaia is ancient (contrast Deubner 23); the weavers of the *peplos* are not a later addition to the *Arrhéphoria* (contrast Deubner 12). Betrothal at five, Dem. 27.4, Cantarella 44; credibility of early age, also Burkert (1966) 14f.; age for marriage, Erdmann 165–7. Chronology, La Fontaine 142f.; intercalary cycles, Censor. 18, Gem. 8, Samuel 33–41, Bickerman 28–30, (and festivals) Nilsson (1918) 42.
- 38 Περιέπειν τὸ ἱερόν, Σ Ar. *Lys.* 645; Wernicke 1171 *fin.*, Grégoire 91. P 1.27.3.
- 39 Kahil (1965) 20–2, (1977) 89–93. Torches, Graf 241. *Krokōtos*, e.g. Σ Ar. *Lys.* 645 (Professor B.R. Rees suggests that its use was restricted to ceremonies). Running, Calame 406–9; Elis, P 5.16.1f.; compare too the ball-games of the *Arrhéphoroi*, Deubner 11 and n.6, 15 n.3. Hesych. s.v. *Arktos* cf. Kahil (1977) 93, *LIMC* II 700 (II.2 Artemis 1034); Cole 241. Goat, Σ Ar. *Lys.* 645, Hesych. s.v. *Brauronia heortē*; sacrifice performed by the Athenian *Hieropoioi*, Poll. 8.107. Dove or rabbit, Kahil (1965) 22 – but scarcely 'compagnon de leurs jeux'. There are also some statuettes probably depicting Bears with Artemis, *LIMC* II 676f. # 723, 723a.
- 40 Weaving, Cole 239f.; ornaments, Kondis 186.
- 41 Kahil (1965) 24f., Simon 86.
- 42 Ephebes sent to Mounichia, Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 42.3. Kahil (1965) 23f. Lysias 13.24, P 1.1.4. Harp. s.v. *arkteuo*. Both, Sale (1975) 275f., contrast Deubner 206.
- 43 Lloyd-Jones 97, Eur. *IT* 1450–67.
- 44 Men. *Epirr.* 451–3, Deubner 208 (but Brelich 246 denies the reference to Halai); torches and New Year, ch. 4.3.2, Graf 234 cf. 241. Kahil (1977) 88. Boys, Kondis 180 (but difficult to connect the statues with the importance of the birth of a male child, given the almost pubertal age of most statues, a few crawling babies apart).
- 45 Cf. Vidal-Naquet in Gordon 179. Osborne 167–9 to my mind bases too much of his interpretation on the contrast of wild and tame, though he draws a rich portrait of the human but 'incorrigibly wild' character of (real) bears.
- 46 E.g. the 'fully scarified Tiv woman' at the root of the conception of Lincoln ix. Scratching, not blinding, cf. n.22 above.
- 47 Ar. *Frogs* 1032, inscr. *BCH* 51 (1927) 378 line 21 ('Cymeian Aretalogy'). Lykaos, Burkert (1972) 104 (89f.). Frazer (1921) ii 275, citing (1914) 214ff., which does not refer to animal substitution. Wernicke 1171. For perspective, Henrichs 203, Brelich in Kitagawa

- 195–207 esp. 195 n.1, Graf SSR 2 (1978) 66, and especially Graf (1985b) 110: ‘Evolutionäre Religionshistoriker nahmen die Mythen beim Wort, füllten die Vorzeit der Hellenen mit grimmigen Menschenopfern . . .’. Compare too Radke’s unsavoury view of the Vestals (ch.9 n.7).
- 48 *Gen.* 22.13, with Burkert (1972) 29 n.34 (21 n.35) cf. 77 (65) and Lloyd-Jones 98. Harrison 22f. ‘Uncomfortably’, Burkert (1972) 77 (65). Standard, Brelich 33ff., 79 n.80, van Gennep 75. Ndembu, Turner 23, 219 cf. 215, 222.
- 49 Eliade (1959) 38, 79–86. Bremmer (1984) 272–5. ‘Bulls’, Graf 414–16, Bremmer (1987b) 37, Cook i 441f.
- 50 Brelich 257f., P 1.27.3. *Σ Ar. Lys.* 645, Deubner 208. Menial service, cf. Ion in Eur. *Ion*. Brelich 260. L. and J. Robert, *REG* 75 (1963) 135. Kondis 170. Eur. *IT* 1114.
- 51 *Adyton*, Travlos ap. Kahil (1977) 92–4, Graf 413. The Embaros myth and *Iliad* passage below counter Hollinshead’s (1979) attempted refutation of Travlos: ‘Present evidence is insufficient to associate this architectural element with worship of Artemis. The most likely function of the back rooms, at least at Brauron and Halai Araphenides, is for storage of sacred objects.’ Statues at *adyton*, *PrEnc* 126; more broadly, cf. *LIMC* II 265.
- 52 Brauron, Melas 51 and esp. Osborne 157; Halai, Graf 413, Osborne 157 (Loutsa). Troizen, P 2.33.1, Schmitt 1060f.
- 53 *Pol.* 4.18.10, P 8.10.9, Immerwahr 121.
- 54 *Xen.Eph.* 1.2.2–7; sea, Call. *Dian.* 238; beauty contests, Calame 71 and n.45, Burkert (1977) 395, 173 (263, 105), Robert 979 (with ref. to the Judgement of Paris).
- 55 *IG* 9 (2) 1123, H. von Gaertringen *ibid.*, Clement 401f. *Inscr. Arch.Eph.* (1931) 178 (= *Polemon* 1 (1929) 249) ap. Clement 402; and *inscr. Arch.Delt.* (1927/28) 55 (Clement 405 n.2).
- 56 Farnell ii 582 n.93.
- 57 Jeanmaire 258f. Preller 302. Censorinus 19.4, Bickerman 31–3. Artemision apparently the first month at Erythrai, Graf 160f., presumably because the year started at the vernal equinox as (Bischoff 1569) at Miletos. The Arcadian Lykaia too was a late spring festival, Immerwahr 20f. Useful comparative table of month names in Bickerman 20.
- 58 Eliade (1965) 60, (1964) 329ff. Navajo, Lincoln 24f. Brauron, Kahil (1965) 20; Eur. *IT* 1464–7. Megara, P 1.43.1.
- 59 Nilsson 184f., Kirk 176f., Burkert (1977) 313 (204). Hack (1929) 60 was isolated in his sanity.
- 60 Kondis 166.
- 61 Wilamowitz (1883) 256f. (citing K.O. Müller), Kjellberg 2588, 2598, Séchan 369, Grégoire 88, Rose *OCD* s.v. Iphigenia, cf. Kondis 180f. Credulous use has been made of P 7.26.5 by Wilamowitz, Grégoire, and Clement (1934) 395f. E.g. ‘Every one recognises that Atalante is but a replica, a human other-self of Artemis’, Thomson (1914) 51; but for Farnell (1921) 56f. heroes assume the characteristics of gods

- (cited by Clement 396f.). Hermione, P 2.35.1, cf. Hesych. ('*Iphigeneia*: Artemis'); Farnell ii 466, Robert 1095.
- 62 Kjellberg 2588. Grégoire 91, Kondis 181, cf. Clement 396. Cf. the Linear B *Iphemedeia* (PY Tn 316), which cannot come from <w>is ('might') (Lloyd-Jones 95 and n.48), though Wiphinoos (KN V 958.36) could (Heubeck (1987b) 153), or has been made to. The existence of both *Iphianeira* and *Ianeira* is a hindrance not a help to Heubeck's acceptance of *Iphi-* as from 'might' (ibid. 154). Hesychios: compare the rustic conservatism implicit in the word *iphios*, a complimentary adjective referring to sheep.
- 63 Grégoire 87f, Burkert (1972) 77f. (65f.).

CHAPTER THREE THESSALIANS AND OTHER AEOLIC GREEKS

- 1 Not the eponym, Robert 65 and n.1. *Peleus* is the Aeolic for **Teleus*, a short form of a Telemachos/Telegonos type of name, as found in Boiotian (Bechtel 424f., 367); see also Palmer (1956) 7, (1980) 97–9, Perpillou 183. *Phēr*, e.g. *Il.* 1.268. Cave, Pind. *I.* 8.89f., cf. Robert 20 and n.1, Philippson 147–50. First-fruits, Plu. *Mor.* 647a, Robert 20 and n.4. Spear, *Il.* 16.143f. Wedding, *Kypria* fr. 3 (ΣA *Il.* 16.140), Ap 3.13.5, and maybe even known to Homer (Kullmann 235). Pind. *N.* 3.59, but helped by Jason and the Dioskouroi according to Pherekydes *FGH* 3F62 as Σ fairly points out. Robert 37 (but Iolkos is founded by Pelias' father Kretheus at Ap 1.9.11), *Od.* 11.256f.
- 2 A solution both ancient and modern is that Homer's Phthia was in fact Pharsalos, nicely formulated at *LIMC* I 41: 'Phthia, dessen Nachfolgerin wohl die Stadt Pharsalos ist'; but see Hope Simpson-Lazenby 129. Eur. *Andr.* 16–20 picks up Pherekydes, cf. Σ (*FGH* 3F1c). See also Str. 9.5.6 [431]. Patroklos had particular cult at Pharsalos (*KIP* s.v. Pharsalos).
- 3 *Il.* 23.141–51, 16.174–6; Page, map opp. p.120, 126 (but wrong on Peleus' kingdom outside the *Catalogue of Ships*); Hope Simpson-Lazenby 126–31 (unduly negative on Mt Pelion at p.129). Phthia and Phthiotis, Spercheios, Kern (1904) 15f.
- 4 Thebe: Bethe (1901) 670f., Kern (1901) 16 and Cauer 196f. Istros *FGH* 334F7 (Plu. *Thes.* 34), Bethe 669f., Cauer 196. Jacoby *ad loc.*, Crusius 774–6, 793–9; Bethe 670; Soph. *Phil.* 1426f. and Ap 3.12.6. Kyknos, *Kypria* 105.2 Allen; Hes. *Sc.* 56f., 70; Robert 80–2, 1119. NB also that Achilles and Patroklos separately kill Paionians – north of Thessaly, though as Robert confesses not particularly near: Robert 82f., citing *Il.* 21.139ff., 205ff., 16.287ff.
- 5 Leaf 272; Wilamowitz (1916) 334 n.3 also believed in the oracle. Useful summary on Hektor's bones, Schachter 233f. Rhesos, NB πατρίη at Polyæn. *Strat.* 6.53. Hektor: a theory of Duemmler,

- incautiously historicizing (manner of K.O. Müller), crucified by Crusius 760–7, well modified by Bethe (1901) 671f., accepted by Cauer 195, Robert 82 and n.3. River, Plu. *QG* 301a.
- 6 *Il.* 9.668, 19.331f.; Ap 3.13.8.
- 7 J. Miller, *RE* V.1289 citing E. Meyer, *Gesch.d.Altert.* ii 67. Ap.Rhod. 1.585, Σ on 587, Orph. *Arg.* 459; St.Byz. s.v. Dolopes; Hyg. *fab. praef.* 14 Rose; Roscher and *RE* s.v. Dolops. Dolopes hesitantly placed amongst ‘Other Aeolians (?)’ by Sakellariou 385. Robert 1106 n.4 cites ΣT *Il.* 19.326: ‘Dolopes: part of the Thessalians’. Bethe (1901) 669 shares our view and cites a deme of Lesbos called ‘Skyrians’.
- 8 Skyros, Dawkins 78f., Desborough (1948) 263. Neoptolemos, *Il.* 19.326f., cf. 9.666–8. Bremmer (1978) 7.
- 9 Dawkins 72–4 describes a Lent Festival on Skyros in which ‘boys go about dressed as girls’. See also Crawley 243–6 and the characteristic responses of Frazer and Lang at pp. 293–5. Son and father, Ap 3.13.6–8, cf. *Kypria* fr. xiv Allen; Ap 3.13.8, *Epit.* 5.11 with *Od.* 11.505ff., *Ilias Parva* 106.29–31 Allen. Change of name, Bremmer (1978) 7f. Because of the reference to initiatory transvestism [ch. 3.5.4], Achilles amongst the girls cannot be late, as *LIMC* I 56, 67, 199 envisages: dates of emergence in art are treacherous – Agamemnon’s quarrel with Achilles only appears in the fourth century BC after all, *LIMC* I 200.
- 10 For this method, cf. Bethe (1901) 659, who refers it back to K.O. Müller.
- 11 ΣB *Il.* 19.326; *RE* s.v. Skyros. Or is ‘Achili’ just part of the modern Greek policy of renaming?
- 12 *CAH* II.ii 778; *Il.* 9.129, 271, 664. Plu. *QG* 28 297d-f, Diod. 5.83, Ap *Epit.* 3.23–6. Sigeion, Hdt. 5.94; Arrian, *Anab.* 1.12, Dio 78.16.7. Cauer 202.
- 13 ‘Ionia’ was not purely Ionian, cf. Hdt. 1.146; ‘Ionisierung’ of Phokaia, Chios, Erythrai, Graf 3, 14, 18, 20, 35–7 (Klytidai/Klytiads), 47–9, 80, 144 (‘osmotisches Zusammengehen’), 170–2 (Athamas; ‘Verbindungen zu Mittelgriechenland’), 226, 373, 402 – an old view (e.g. Duemmler 247). Erythrai, Graf 351 (‘Einfluss des Epos’). Smyrna, St.Byz. s.v. Achilleion [*RE* I 220 #2]; Hdt. 1.149; *CAH* II.ii 779f. Priene, Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.17, 4.8.17, cf. *CAH* II.ii 774f. and 782; 14.1.3 [633] and 14.1.12 [636], *CAH* II.ii 784, P 7.2.10. Magnesia, Str. 14.1.39 [647]. Mentality of colonists resiting old town names, Bethe (1901) 660, Thomson (1914) 133.
- 14 Miletos: Aristoboulos *FGH* 139F6 (Ath. 2.43d), *RE* 6A 2129 s.v. Trambelos; cf. Parker 376; springs, like rivers [ch. 6.2.3], figure frequently in our stories: above Lousoi for the Proitids [4.3.5], of the Anigris Nymphs [4.4], of Kallirhoë at Kalydon [8.2.3], called Kallirhoë and used by brides at Athens (Thuc. 2.16), the one next to which Auge is raped (P 8.47.4, and generally cf. Piccaluga 132), the one named after Telephos in Lycia (St.Byz. s.v. Teléphios), and that at which Achilles lies in wait for Troilos on vases (*LIMC* I 72–80,

- Piccaluga 120). Farnell (1921) 286 envisages Minyans (Aeolic, see below) at Miletos; the tribe 'Bōreis' at Miletos (also Cyzicus, Perinthos, Samos, Ephesos) has for its eponym one Boros, found at *Il.* 16.177 as one of five leaders under Achilles, and his father is a Periēres, the name of a son of Aiolos, cf. Friedlaender 66; and Neileus, founder of Miletos (complete with tomb, Arist. fr. 556 Rose, Robert (1901) 447), founds a *Poseidon* cult (cf. ch.5 n.20) and is a variant of Neleus (in Aeolic Triphylia, cf. ch. 5.2) complete with Pylian background. Tremilai, Hdt. 1.173, cf. St.Byz. s.v. Tremile (Hekataios *FGH* 1F10); Trambelos is himself a rapist, causing a dying maiden in Euph. *Thrax* ap. Parthenios 26. Milesian activity, Hack 64, Boardman 242f., Hommel 60. **Byzantion**, Hesych. Miles. *FGH* 390F1 §16.
- 15 Cult in Lakonia, Wide 232–6. Achilles and the battle at Platanistas, P 3.20.8, 3.14.8–10, Jeanmaire 513f. Prasiai, Str. 8.6.1 [368], apparently following Artemidoros (a generation older); Argive before the 'Battle of the Champions', Hdt. 1.82; P 3.24.5, Robert 83. Aeolians: *Splitter eines Stammes aus Thessalien* . . . , E. Meyer *RE* s.v. Prasiai (Lakonien) 1694 (who also reports a mountain settlement there going back to the thirteenth century), *Aioler oder ein verwandtes Volk*, Wide 233; Farnell (1921) 286 states it was a Minyan settlement, cf. (1896) iv 18, 39, 40–3, Thomson (1914) 73. Robert 1197 misses the Aeolian flavour of Achilles, but traces his temple at Tarentum (Arist. *Mir.* 840a, with evidence of population change) back to cult in Lakonia. Graf 351–3 considers the distribution of cult of Achilles in Ionia and elsewhere, but does not think in terms of tribal migration and is reluctant to accept evidence that does not specifically attest *cult.* Tainaron, P 3.25.4, Scylax *Peripl.* 46, with saga at nearby Arainon P 3.24.5, Wide 232–5. Boiotian memories, Str. 8.4.4 [360]. Are the cities, strangely located 'at the bottom of sandy Pylos', which Agamemnon offers to Achilles at *Il.* 9.153 (cf. Str. 8.4.5 [360]), determined by cult of Achilles?
- 16 Mourning, P 6.23.3, Lyc. 859–65. Colony, Str. 6.1.12 [262], Diod. 8.17, Dion. *Ant.Rom.* 2.59.3, Hdt. 8.47. Phthiotis, Str. 8.7.1 [383]. Minyeian, *Il.* 2.511, *Od.* 11.284, Hes. fr. 257. 'Minyas who called them Minyai after himself' Σ *Il.* 2.511. Argonauts, Ap.Rhod. 3.1091–5, Str. 9.2.40 [414] and cf. Ap.Rhod. 1.229ff.; *Hauptsage* of Iolkos, Kern (1904) 19. Σ Pind. *P.* 4.122 makes Minyas an Aeolid by his mother Tritogeneia (cf. Σ Pind. *I.* 1.79c). Thessaly, St.Byz. s.v. Minya; Pliny *HN* 4.7.15; cf. Sakellariou 384f., Smith ii 487. Buck (1955) 5 makes the Minyans Aeolic on similar assumptions. Thomson (1914) ch. IV traces Minyans in Iolkos, Boiotia, Arcadia, and Elis.
- 17 *Il.* 11.722, P 5.6.2f., cf. Str. 8.3.19 [347]. Hdt. 4.148. Buck (1955: 5) reaches Aeolic in Elis by a different route and notes a little evidence of Aeolic dialect in Elean, cf. Palmer 73–4. Hammond 144f. has Aeolic in Elis but only by depending heavily on Str. 8.1.2 [333] whose indiscriminacy Buck (6) rightly undermines. Thetis, *Od.* 24.47–64; Arktinos 106 Allen; *Il.* 23.14; priority of the lament over Achilles:

- Willcock 285–7, Kakridis 65–75, Schadewaldt 156f., 166, 170–3, 250, Kullmann 331f. Pind. *I.* 8.123–9 depicts a scene of ritual mourning; fine illustration on Corinthian hydria c. 570 BC, *LIMC* I.2 Achilleus 897. Lacklustre discussion of Kroton, Elis and Thetis in Farnell (1921) 288f.
- 18 Plu. *QG* 299a. Diokles, Plu. *QG* 301a and Halliday 160. The fifth-century BC poetess Myrtis is scarcely a direct source for Plutarch (cf. Halliday 174, contrast Roller 45; her contribution, unlike Diokles', looks specific to *QG* 40). Diokles is evidently Hellenistic or later; neat argument for Diokles of Peparethos, Schachter (1986) 204; in Jacoby *FGH* he vanishes after vol. I A 295. Site, Roller (1974) 155, (1979) 47 n.15.
- 19 Halliday 161, citing *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 11 (1924) 3–24.
- 20 Not the architect's son, as Roscher #13 and Kroll *RE* XII 2266 #12 !
- 21 *POxy* 2463 with H. Lloyd-Jones *Gnomon* 35 (1963) 449f. Square brackets enclose significantly damaged or lost areas in the papyrus; Aristophanes of Thebes, *FGH* IIIB 379. Plutarch on Ehippos: maybe a textual problem, cf. the preceding line. No Achilles, Schachter 2.
- 22 Schachter 2, Halliday 161.
- 23 **Tennes**, P 10.14.1–4, Diod. 5.83.4f., Plu. *QG* 297d–f, Ap *Epit.* 3.23–6, Lycophr. 232–42. **Axe**, Cook ii 654–76. **Troilos**, a particular favourite of sixth-century BC art *LIMC* I 199, *Il.* 24.257, Ap 3.12.5, *Kypria* 105.12 Allen, Ap *Epit.* 3.32, Lycophr. 307–13 (NB father Apollo in 313); Lycophr. 307–12 (unrequited passion? – cf. the cock, which is a typical love-present, depicted in the murder-scene in *LIMC* I 90 # 377 of c. 590/80 BC), Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.32f. cf. 5.2.121f.; *LIMC* I 72–95, 202–5, 210f. Ἀνδρόπαις at Soph. *Troilos* fr. 619 Radt, *infelix puer* at Virg. *Aen.* 1.475, *inpubem* at Hor. *Carm.* 2.9.15; age 20, *Myth. Vat.* I 207 Kulcsár. Death of Achilles, *Il.* 22.359f., clearly the version followed also by Arktinos 106.8 Allen. Polyxena, various late authorities cited by J.G. Frazer, *Apollodorus* ii 215 n.; Hellenistic, Robert 1189. Could the temple of Thymbraian Apollo have been anywhere near the Skaian Gates, cf. Str. 13.1.35 [597f.]?
- 24 **Priam**, *Il.* 21.105, 24.479. Hommel uses the death-marriages with **Iphigeneia** and **Polyxena** to reinforce his view that Achilles is in origin an Ionian god of the dead (63f.). Indeed Achilles and his mythological island Leuke were probably brought to the Black Sea by Milesian colonists; but (1) Hommel reaches a Milesio-centric Achilles (63 n.57) through insufficient evidence; (2) Achilles, despite Wilamowitz's (1955: ii 9 n.4, Hommel 63 n.55) perverse judgement, is a revered dead man (i.e. hero) not a god for most Greeks; (3) though on Leuke Achilles is a dead hero who can even, when Leuke is 'discovered', have a temple built and appear to visitors, jumping up and down in armour, feasting etc. (Max.Tyr. 9.vii c-g Hobein), he is not lord of the dead – his celebrated comment (*Od.* 11.484-6) about preferring to be the merest serf than lord of the dead shows Homer

- ignorant of this possibility (cf. Hommel 64). Leuke as a mythological northern island for spirits like the Sanskrit *śvetadvîpa* ('White Island'): *REG* 92 (1979) 313f., though now I would think more in terms of a common Indo-European inheritance. Other views on Achilles in the Black Sea, E. Diehl, *RE* XXII 1ff. s.v. Pontarches, H. von Geisau *KIP* s.v. Pontarches. His cult there really amounts to little more than a rather popular hero-cult, fired with the excitement of locating Leuke. **Penthesilea**, Arkt. *Aith.* 105.22-7 Allen, *LIMC* I 161-71 (with stress on popularity of erotic motif); loved like Troilos, Schefold 204; reversal, cf. Diod. 3.53; dance at Ephesos, Call. *Dian.* 237-9, Calame 163; Hippo is surely short for Hippolyte, like Deo for Demeter; graves, Pfister 127, also implying conflict of the Perseus v. Mainads type related to New Year/initiatory festivals cf. ch. 4.3.2 and n.27.
- 25 Achilles = he who brings 'grief' (*achos*) to the people (*laos*), Palmer 34-8; non-Greek, Perpillou 237.
- 26 **Leukippoi**. **Sikyon**, P 2.5.7, Roscher #3, *RE* #5. **Naxos**, Diod. 5.51.3, Roscher #7, *RE* #7. **Kyrene**, Akasandros *FGH* 469F1 (Σ Pind. *P.* 4.57), F3 (Σ Ap.Rhod. 4.1561c); Roscher #8, *RE* #9. Lykaon, cf. Burkert (1972) 98-108 (84-93). Lion, Akasandros F4 (Σ Ap.Rhod. 2.498/527a), Pind. *P.* 9.24ff., Jacoby *FGH* IIIb (Kommentar zu 297-607) 368. Mentions of 'Kadmeians' and 'Minyans' in connection with Thera as well as the presence of a Cheiron cult there might point to an Aeolic element in the founding population of Kyrene: Hdt. 4.147-50, Philippon 150-3, 155. On a similar basis Thomson (1914) 21-4, 72f explains Kyrenean links with Boiotia and Arcadia. **Lesbos**, Diod. 5.81.8, Roscher #6, *RE* #8. **Metapontion**, Str. 6.1.15 [265], Dion. *Ant.Rom.* 19.3 [17.4], Roscher #9, *RE* #3. **Magnesia**, Roscher #5 = 12 (cf. Σ Ap.Rhod. 1.584), *RE* #1. Parthenios 5 (Hermesianax, *Leontion* fr. 5 Powell). *FGH* 482F3 (*Inscr. Magnesia* 17). Karian, Σ Ap.Rhod. 1.584, Roscher, *RE*; Robert 374, maybe justified by Str. 14.5.15 [675], though Hekataios (and St.Byz.) has no difficulty, cf. *FGH* 1F240-54, 255-7. Ephesos: just as Althaimenes comes from Crete to found the Kretinia on Rhodes (Ap 3.2.1, Robert 375 n.1); yet there would be enough reason in any case to connect Crete with this part of the world (cf. Miletos-Milatos, or the Phaistos Disk).
- 27 St.Byz.'s correction of *Diogenes* in the MS of Parthenios.
- 28 Dion.Hal. *Ant.Rom.* 1.16, Str. 5.4.12 [343-4], Festus 150.21. Tithing mainly found in myths (Rhegion the one historical example), Malkin 37-40 (my interpretation of the tithe goes some way to overcome the denials of the connection with the sacred Spring there cited).
- 29 **Phaistos**, Nic. *Met.* 2 ap. Ant.Lib. *Met.* 17, Roscher #11, *RE* #2. Leto also associated with initiations on (once Aeolic) Chios, Graf 60f., 80. Significance of transvestism, Halliday (1909) 214-6, Jeanmaire 353ff., Brelich (1958) 286, (1969) 202, 72 n.60 and 84 n.100, Calame 258-60, Graf (1979) 15, 17 (Theseus). Siris, Lyc. *Alex.* 984-92 and Σ, Justin 20.2.4, Bremmer (1983) 121, cf. (1978) 7. Eliade (1959) 103. La Fontaine 106.

- 30 **Kaineus**: metamorphosis not a Hellenistic invention, Hes. fr. 87, 88 (Phlegon *FGH* 257F36), Akousilaos *FGH* 2F22 (*POxy* 13.1611). Gyrton, Ap.Rhod. 1.57 (scarcely drawn, as Robert 10 speculates, from *Il.* 2.738); ΣA *Il.* 1.264 (Jacoby on 2F22); Ap *Epit.* 1.22; Stat. *Ach.* 1.263; Hyg. *Fab.* 14.3f. *Il.* 1.264 mentions him among the Lapiths.
- 31 Kroll, *RE* #12; P 8.20.2, Parthenios 15; Roscher #2.
- 32 Robert 376, *FGH* 482F3 (*Inscr.Magnesia* 17). Gortyn/Gyrton, Immerwähr 181. More on Crete and Thessaly, Kern (1904) 19f.
- 33 Theseus, Zeitlin 139. Apollo *Akersekomes*, e.g. *Il.* 20.39, *LIMC* II 185, Eitrem 365f.(ephebic).
- 34 Messene, P 4.9, a comparison already made by Roussel 241f. Romantic, Farnell ii 582 n.93. Henrichs 237 has his eyes too firmly set on the final version of the story: ‘die geplante Heirat zwischen Iphigenie und Achill ist natürlich nur eine List Agamemnons von der Achill nichts weiss: und deshalb kaum mehr als ein Erzählungsmotiv’.

CHAPTER FOUR TIRYNS

- 1 Meyer 67; Robert 221; Desborough 219; Nilsson (1932) 36.
- 2 Traditions, West 2f. Kadmos, Brelich (1958) 172f., Crusius 750. Corinth *existed* in Mycenaean times, but it barely figures in Homer and may have been a dependency of Mycenae (Hope Simpson-Lazenby 65f.; Leekley-Noyes 75; Salmon 17f.). *Il.* e.g. 6.152f.; Brelich (1958) 270. Ephyre, Sikyon etc., *Il.* 6.153, 2.572, 11.682 and *Od.* 3.4 with P 4.36.1.
- 3 Sole attested Proitos etymology: *eager to advance* (in battle?), Eust. *ad Il.* 6.157 p.631.56. Foundation and Megapenthes, Bacch. 11.71, Hes. fr. 129.16, Ap 2.2.1, 2.4.4 (cf. P 2.16.3). Cyclopic walls, Bacch. 11.77, Str.8.6.11 [373], Eur. *Or.* 965, Ap 2.2.1, P 2.25.8. **Foundations.** Sikyon, P 2.12.2, 2.7.8. Lousoi, Call. *Dian.* 235f.; apparently founded by the Proitids themselves in Bacch. 11.110, though cf. 40; contrast P 8.18.8. Oinoë, P 2.25.3; Ōros ap. Steph.Byz. s.v. Oine (a deviant spelling by Hekataios *FGH* 1F4 – cf. Pearson 51f.); refs. in Farnell ii 583 n.109.
- 4 Only the temple of Hera at Sikyon is referred to Proitos not his daughters, but fleetingly, P 2.12.2. Akroi, Bacch. 11.110; Hesych. s.v. *akrouchei* – identified rashly by Friedlaender 31 with the temple at Oinoë.
- 5 Str. 8.6.9 [371]; Drews 119f.; Busolt 223 n.1, Crusius 752 (with doubt on the significance of horse-rearing, 755f.). *Il.* 6.152, *Od.* 3.263; but Drews 122 doubts that a Corinthian Ephyre is in any sense ‘in a nook of Argos’ and suspects (122 n.53) the original Ephyre of the Bellerophon story was either the Aetolian or the Thessalian Ephyre. Hes. fr. 37, West 122f. and Vian 29 n.1. *Il.* 6.152–9.

- 6 Pind. *N.* 10.76f. Agamemnon and all Argos, *Il.* 2.108. Accident not conspiracy, Drews 133f.; deliberate creation of mythology by Argos, Nilsson (1932) 67f. Tiryns son of Argos, P 2.25.8. Younger, Bacch. 11.71. Statue, Str. 8.6.11 [373], P 2.17.5. Hostility of Proitos and Akrisios commemorated by ritual imitation at the 'Daulis' festival in Argos, Hesych. s.v. Daulis; Robert 246, Nilsson (1906) 416. Robert 229 suggests *Akrisios* means 'man of the Heights' and refers to the Larisa at Argos, though he thinks the original connection was with the Thessalian Larisa (229 n.4, 253). Interestingly, one of the seven gates of Thebes is known as the Gate of Proitos (Robert 253); it is a rare name.
- 7 Friedlaender 32, Nilsson 613.
- 8 Bacch.11. Exile, Plu. *exil.* 605c; date, Maehler 10, Severyns 117–21.
- 9 Sources: Hdt. 9.34, Ap 1.9.12, Hes. fr. 37.10–15, Diod. 4.68.4–6, P 2.18.4
- 10 Precise correspondence: fr. 37.1 = 1.9.12; .8 = .13; .10 = .12 *fin.*; .17 = 10. The correspondence, then, does not result from the arrangement by editors of the fragments of the *Catalogue*, but from the topics presented by a single fragment. On larger-scale similarities between Apollodoros and the *Catalogue*, see West 35 and n.17, 44f. Wishing to restore Proitids, R. Merkelbach (apparatus to Hes. fr. 37), Burkert (1972) 191 n.12 (170 n.12), Vian 29; for the women of Argos, Pfeiffer 7f. (but for unconvincing reasons of which Vian 29 is able to dispose), Schwartz 373–5.
- 11 This is the disparaging observation of Clem. *Strom.* 6.26.7. Jos. c. *Apionem* 1.16: Akousilaos corrects Hesiod.
- 12 Hes. fr. 129–33. Fr. 133 is very full; the total number of lines would be easier to judge if one could be sure of the content of fr. 129.46–50 (possible mention of Hera at 48 would fit). The Proitids do not, as Apollodoros claims Hesiod said, slight Dionysos. Apollodoros has, I think (cf. Nilsson 613 n.2), made a mistake here; and the assumption that he has not raises insoluble difficulties (cf. West 79). Fr. 131 (Probus) clearly refers the Hera explanation to Hesiod, and Philodemos *peri euseb.* p.54 Gomperz (fr. 132 apparatus) points to Hera in Hesiod too, cf. Henrichs (1974) 299f. Just as Apollodoros keeps closely to fr. 37 (n.10 above), so here he must refer to the fr. 131 region of the *Catalogue*. Apollodoros cannot close his eyes to 'Hera' at fr. 131 and refer instead to fr. 37 (of dubious relevance) as Schwartz 372, 376 comes close to claiming, or to the *Melampodia* (often canvassed: Robert 247 and Vian 30 are peculiarly certain). The event, however, must have been present in the *Melampodia* (Löffler 30, 37), which could well have attributed the wrath to Dionysos. Apollodoros similarly appears to transpose his sources at 2.1.3 (Pherekydes for Asklepiades and vice versa, cf. Hes. fr. 124 M–W apparatus) and cf. ch. 8 n.26. Reconstruction of Hesiod, see Appendix to this chapter.
- 13 *Machlosyne* (fr. 132), an elusive concept (cf. *Il.* 24.30 and ΣA, Severyns (1928) 263f.; 'lussuria femmine . . . ninfomania' according

- to Massenzio 93), is presumably something which a grown-up maiden might qualify for by boasting irresponsibly of her beauty. Vian 26f. thinks it the first punishment (cf. Bethe (1891) 174, *mit machlosyne behaftet*) and itching and leprosy (fr. 133) the second (ultimately because of a misreading of Philodemos – cf. Henrichs (1974) 298f.), but it is the *machlosyne FOR* (εἶνεκα) which they are punished; and their punishment is loss of the tender flower of youth (cf. *Th.* 988 and West *ad loc.*). That punishment consists in turn in itching and leprosy and loss of hair. The καὶ γὰρ (if sound – and the γὰρ is in any case suspect, cf. Merkelbach-West's apparatus and line 4) draws attention to the detail of their punishment which has already been expressed in outline. The distinction Philodemos made was between (first) madness and (later) leprosy, Henrichs *ibid.*; both were in Hesiod (as Henrichs notes) and there is no reason, pace Maehler (1982) 197f., to suppose they belong to alternative versions – that is to be misled by Philodemos' scholastic articulation; this vitiates Maehler's otherwise careful analysis.
- 14 Vian 28, emphasizing the close similarity between Ap 2.2.1f. and Hesiod fr. 129.1–4, concludes that Apollodoros preserves the Hesiodic ending and therefore that the close at Sikyon is Hesiodic. Whilst not impossible, Servius' (cf. Appendix) account tells against this – medication would suit Lousoi better.
- 15 Pherekydes 3F114, maybe corrupt at end, Cook i 452 n.6. Robert (1917), cf. Pfeiffer 5. The closeness to Bacchylides of the scholion (Robert (1917) 308f.) could easily have been preserved via one intermediary. My hidden theses here: (i) Robert's discernment of careless reading of Bacchylides is essentially sound, *pace* Maehler (1982) 199; (ii) the supposition *ibid.* that Bacchylides' ode went unpublished to Metapontion, not to reach a public until gathered with others by the Alexandrians (how?), is incredible; (iii) the *argumentum ex silentio* by which Jacoby (1947) esp. 31 reaches a date of c. 490 BC, but before 476/5 BC, for Pherekydes carries no conviction, cf. implicitly Maehler 200.
- 16 CAF ii 577 (Clem. *Strom.* 7.4.26 [844 P.]); cf. Alexis fr. 112 Kock CAF ii.337 (Ath. 8.340a). Charlatans, Thphr. *Char.* 16 esp. the nurse, and see Parker 207, 224–32.
- 17 P 8.18.7f. Also absent from Call. *Dian.* 233–6 (following Bacch. 11.39–42?). Spring near Lousoi, Eudoxos fr. 313 Lasserre (St.Byz. s.v. Azania), drawn on directly by Phylarchos FGH 81F63 (Ath. 2.43f) and by Pliny *HN* 31.16 (absurdly = Eudoxos fr. 314). See also Vitruvius 8.3.21 (with Greek epigram) and Ovid *Met.* 15.321–3. Dionysos, cf. Massenzio 96–8.
- 18 Apollodoros' attribution of these versions, n.12 above.
- 19 'And the Peloponnese' was needlessly deleted by Hercher and Wagner. Dionysos and decorum, Henrichs (1974) 301 n.18.
- 20 Vian 28.
- 21 Burkert (1972) 192 (172), Brelich 380 n.168.

- 22 Chaironeia, Plu. *QConv.* 716f–717a, cf. Schachter i.173. Thyiads, P 10.4.3; Diod. 4.3.3. Friedlaender 38.
- 23 Thomson 195f., Jeanmaire (1951) 210f., Burkert (1972) 192ff. (172ff.) and cf. Friedlaender 37ff. Ant.Lib. 10 from Nicander and Corinna, Ael. *VH* 3.42, Jeanmaire (1951) 202, Plu. *QG* 299e–300a. Akontion, Schachter 180.
- 24 Iphinoë: ‘we are not told Melampous killed her, but it sounds like it’, Thomson 196; Hesych. s.v. Agrania; Jeanmaire (1951) 210, Burkert (1972) 194 (172). Adolescent traits: stress on house of father, description as *korai*, names ending in *–hippe*, Bremmer (1984) 283, who, following Calame 243, regards the Minyads simply as having refused to acknowledge their marital status. Three *thiasoi*, *FGH* 482F5 (*Inschr. Magnesia* 215). Aktaion (son of Autonoë) and Melikertes (son of Ino) escape the Dionysiac myth.
- 25 ‘Gathering’ of souls, Nilsson (1906) 271–4; ‘wild’, Nilsson 598, Burkert (1972) 194 n.23 (173 n.23), Plu. *Anton.* 24.5. Agrionia in Boiotia, Schachter 173, 176, 185, 188f. Month, Bischoff 1589 and e.g. 1576–80, Nilsson (1906) 271–4, Samuel (index), Bickerman 20 (table); Doric, Nilsson (1967) 598, (1918) 55 but cf. 56 (month–names could be pre–Doric).
- 26 Eresos, *IG* XII.2 527; Buck §19.2, cf. Burkert (1972) 194 n.23 (173 n.23). Omadios, Graf 74–80. Chios and Tenedos, Euelpis of Karystos ap. Euseb. *PE* 4.16.5 (Porph. *abst.* 2.55). Seleukos ap. Harpokration s.v. Homeridai. Male and female, also Burkert (1972) 195–9 (175–8). Late entrant, Graf 144, Ion *FGH* 392F1 (P 7.4.10); Graf 80. Ox, Plu. *Mor.* 364f.
- 27 Graf 5, Gruppe 181. Muses, Plu. *QConv.* 717a. *Aioleiai* should not be emended, cf. Schachter 181. Argive Agriania, Hesych. s.vv. Agrania, Agriania. Lykourgos, Otto (1965) 196f., Burkert (1972) 197–9 (176–8), adding Perseus v. the Mainads (P 2.22.1); Graf 236; Lykourgos and fertility/normality, Massenzio 71; *bouplex*, *Il.* 6.135, Massenzio 50.
- 28 Agrionios the fourth month after the Winter Solstice in Boiotia, Bischoff 1569/76, though late at Lakedaimon (June/July, 1578) and esp. Byzantion (August/September, 1579). Follows Artamitios at Epidauros and Rhodes, see e.g. Bickerman 20. Graf 234–6, 241. La Fontaine 118.
- 29 Nilsson 615, Dodds 77; cf. Rohde ii 51f. (287), accepting the historicity of Melampous (he ‘regulated and developed’ the Dionysiac cult). Cures, Brelich (1958) 340, Dodds 77–80. K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, Harmondsworth, 1978, 21.
- 30 Burkert (1972) 193 (173) uses the Athenian term ‘ephebes’. Eminence, Alcman fr.1 L-P; Calame 92–143, esp. 140–3.
- 31 Pfister 31f., 35n.102.
- 32 Hdt. 6.67; Griffin 36–38. P 2.7.7f., 2.9.8.
- 33 On site of *megaron*, Coldstream 326f. P 2.17.5, Demetrios of Argos *FGH* 304F1 (Clem.A1. *Protr.* 4.47.5).
- 34 Friedlaender 36f. Archaic disdain for aniconic statues suggests,

- according to Maehler (1982) 200f., inclusion of the tale in the *Phoronis*. Daubing, Brelich 472f., Burkert (1972) 190f. (170), La Fontaine 168, 121. Hair, ch. 1 n.2, Burkert (1972) 75 n.20 (63 n.20). Cantarella 18. Altered consciousness, Zeitlin 133. Hp. *Virg.* 22.526-8 Kühn, cf. Zeitlin 134f.
- 35 Difficult moment, Foley 170. Bremmer (1978) 28f. Nine years, Bremmer (1987b) 56; roving youths, *ibid.* 39-43.
- 36 Tirynthian close, Burkert (1972) 192 (172). Population, Tomlinson 38.
- 37 P 8.18.8, cf. Pol. 4.18.10. 'Lousos' in Bacchylides; a *ro-u-so* (Lousos or Lousoi?) is found on Linear B tablets PY Aa717, Cn328, Jn 829, Ma 365.
- 38 'Die hervorragende Stellung, welche Hera in der übrigen Peloponnes einnahm, war in Arkadien durch Artemis . . . vorweggenommen', Immerwähr 33.
- 39 P 8.18.7f. Faure 115-22, esp. 118; 'Dikaiarchos' fr. 60.8 *FHG* ii p. 262. Pool, Parker 213. Hemerasia: LSJ cite *Ath.Mitt.* 49.118 (Aigion), IG 5 (1) 1387.5 Thurion (iiiBC); Jessen, *RE* s.v. Hemera (2) cites *Inschr.v.Olympiad* no.184 in which a person reports his victory at Lousoi (displaying the typical transformation of an initiation festival into a sporting festival). Taming of animals, e.g. Farnell ii 451. Whitening and washing, La Fontaine 168. *Lousoi* = washing, cf. P 8.25.6, 8.28.2.
- 40 Str. 8.3.19f. [346f.] (NB ὁ παρακείμενος Ἄνιγρος ποταμός), P 5.5.3, 5.5.10.
- 41 League, Hdt. 6.92.1f., Farnell iv 215 n.b, Griffin 61, 64. Kleisthenes, Hdt. 6.67, Griffin 36-8; P 2.7.1. Argolid, P 2.6.6, Salmon 18.
- 42 West 147, 154; P 8.12.7, 8.48.6 (cf. 8.8.1, part of the Untilled Plain, on the other side of Mt Artemisios from Oinoë, called the Dancing-place of Maira); *Nostoi* fr. 5 Allen, in which she dies 'whilst still a virgin'; Polygnotos' painting of her, P 10.30.5. In Pherekydes 3F170 (Σ *Od.* 11.326) she bears Lokros to Zeus and Artemis kills her 'on account of no longer being present for the hunting'.
- 43 End of LH IIIB: Vermeule, Kelly 13, 154 n.55, Desborough 100f., Snodgrass 29, 242; legend tells of Tisamenos leading Achaeans (expelled by the Dorians from Argos) to Achaea, P 7.1.7. *Ath.Mitt.* 49.118. Maehler 143.

CHAPTER FIVE TRIPHYLIA

- 1 Rohde ii 51f. (287); even Nilsson 616 sees a remarkable degree of historicity in him; cf. Kerényi 165.
- 2 Xen.*Hell.* 7.1.26, Str. 8.3.3 [337], P 5.5.3. Nestor's Pylos, E. Meyer, *KIP* s.v. Pylos 4, Robert 190f.; controversial, not least because of the impressive remains of Messenian Pylos; opposite view and difficult-

- ies, Hope Simpson-Lazenby 82, Macdonald-Hope Simpson 258. *Od.* 3.29ff., NB ἄγυγις; Str. 8.3.13 [343]. Statue, P 6.25.6 (Satrap, Graf 330).
- 3 *Il.* 11.711f., 5.545, Macdonald-Hope Simpson 258. *Il.* 2.593, Hope Simpson-Lazenby 84. Nestor's kingdom extended southwards, also Str. 8.3.22 [348]. Before the West-Greek Eleans arrived, the whole western Peloponnese could be viewed as one territory and, containing three Pyloses (Elean, Triphylian, and Messenian), might aptly be named *Tripylia*. Triphylia, though seemingly transparent ('land of the three tribes'), is hard to explain: 'keine brauchbare ant. Erklärung' (Meyer, *l.c.*) – cf. Str. 8.3.3 [337]. P 5.5.3.
- 4 Ap 1.9.9 cf. Hes. fr. 33.5-6, Diod. 4.68; P 4.36.1ff. is designed to explain why there is a 'Pylos' in Elis as well. Friedlaender 62, cf. West 142f. Robert 36, 195; Str. 9.5.15 [436]; Desborough 128f. *Nehe-/nese-* is then found in both the names Neleus and Nestor; Palmer (1956) 8-10, (1980) 34f., cf. Perpillou 169f., 186. Robert (1901) 447-9 regarded Neleus as a genuine Milesian [cf. ch. 3 n.14] only secondarily connected with Nestor and Pylos.
- 5 Phylakos, not Iphiklos: compare Ap 1.9.12 with Hes. fr. 272. But Iphiklos is a more solid figure, cf. Robert 58. Walcot esp. 342f., 334ff., Graf (1985b) 73f., Bremmer (1987b) 33f. *Hom. Hymn Hermes* 101 (to the R. Alpheios), cf. Thomson (1914) 108, 115 n.1. The cave at Messenian Pylos where the cattle (now of Neleus) were allegedly stabled (P 4.36.3) is probably tourist information. If it was more traditional, the parallel could be drawn with the cave of the Proitids above Lousoi, even though it is 'inside the city'. Burkert (1979) 86f. connects the cave with the underworld, following a tradition of association of Pylos with the world of the dead going back to H.D. Müller *Mythologie der griechischen Stämme* of 1857, cf. Sergent 6.
- 6 Brothers, Calame 376-80, Bremmer (1983) 124. *Eor* represents the regular Indo-European word for 'sister' (e.g. Latin *soror*).
- 7 Ap 1.9.11 *fin.* – surely out of the *Melampodeia*, on which see Löffler 1963, and West 153 (written by a Melampodid). Shaman/bard/dance-leader, Thomson (1914) 210-4.
- 8 Robert 196; art. *LIMC* I 753. PY Nn831.7, KN X7806, PY Jn431.26 (owning thirty-one workers); other names associated with Neleid mythology also appear on these tablets, Sergent 22-4. Heubeck-Neumann 2-4. Amythaonia, Rhianos fr. 24, Robert 36, Nilsson (1932) 141, West 142; perhaps Lykaon too should be associated with a Lykaonia (in Arcadia) as Dion.Hal. 2.1.2 and St.Byz. s.v. imagine (and there should be a tribe of *Lykaones). Comes from Messene, Pind. *P.* 4.223 by learned association with the other Pylos. Hylleis, Heubeck-Neumann 4-6. Games, P 5.8.2 – perhaps Homer's epithet (*Od.* 11.259) *ἡπιοχάρμην* ('rejoicing in horsemanship?') fits: it can be banal epic word-spinning (as at Hes. fr. 7.2, 9.2, 205.1), but appears essential in the case of Troilos (*Il.* 24.257 with *LIMC* I 72, though cf. Σ). I doubt E. Simon's 'eines für die Achäer typischen Doppelkönigtums', *LIMC* I 752.

- 9 Str. 8.3.12 [343], P 6.22.8. Ladrinoi or Letrinoi, G. Daux, *BCH* 90 (1966) 817f. *Alphei-* etc., Meineke 105.
- 10 P 6.22.9; Thomson 223f. Farnell ii 428, Burkert (1972) 190f. and n.11 (170 and n.11).
- 11 Teles. fr. 171 L-P; poetesses listed, Cantarella 73-5. Plu. *Mul.Virt.* 245c-f., Graf (1984) 247f., Hdt. 6.75-84.
- 12 P 6.22.8, Str. 8.3.12 [343]. 'The nymphs with whom she was playing', P 6.22.9.
- 13 Turner 98. Lousoi: Str. 8.3.19 [347], Σ Lycophr. 1050-3.
- 14 Str. 8.3.19 [347]. Ps.-Plu. *fluv.* 19.1, a generally ludicrous treatise, which however may have little motive to invent this particular name. Nocturnal festivals of renewal, cf. ch. 2.3.3.2, ch. 4.3.2, ch. 8.2.2.
- 15 Lloyd-Jones 91.
- 16 A1, Diod. 1.97; A2, Hdt. 2.49; Orpheus, Ar. *Frogs* 1032. Best perspective, West (1983) 53f. Orpheus introduces Dionysiac mysteries to Greece, Diod. 1.23.2 (Burton 97ff., 280f., ignores pseudonymous literature!). By Orpheus or Onomakritos: *Souda* Kern (1922) T223d, cf. 315f., who however doubts *num Orphei liber, cui T. titulus erat, unquam extiterit*. Onomakritos, Kern (1922) 53-6 (incl. Hdt. 7.6); Graf (1974) 31-3 avoids concluding that a book by Orpheus is referred to. The connection with Egypt was made by a reader of the book of 'Melampous' impressed by Egyptian phallos-processions (cf. Jeanmaire (1951) 42), probably Hekataios (cf. West (1983) 53).
- 17 Burkert (1972) 191 (171).
- 18 B2, P 8.47.3; Abaris, P 3.13.2. B3, Schwyzler (1923) no. 664. Orchomenos etc.: P 8.36.2; Gruppe ii 1137, 1153, Farnell iv 3, 14-46, Thomson (1914) 41f., more sceptical Nilsson 446f. Nilsson 188.
- 19 C2a, *thysia*, P 1.44.5; there were even names such as *Melampodoros*, at least after 243 BC – Löffler 31 n.1. C2b, Löffler 31, citing coins and Dieuchidas. Dieuchidas, *FGH* 485F9. Inessential, cf. Pley 392. 'Aigosthena' could mean *Goat-suckling* to anyone thinking *-thena* could come from *thēnai*. *Aig-* names: Aigai, Aigospotamoi etc. – goats, after all, were central to the Greek economy. Goat-derivations, cf. Ps.-Callisth., *Hist.Alex.*, ms L, 2.23.
- 20 Pley 393, Robert 196.
- 21 Ap 1.9.12 places this incident amidst Triphylian traditions; it might just be Messenian (Hes. fr. 261 with Ap 2.8.5: Polyphontes king of Messenia).
- 22 Frazer (1921) ii 189 n. subsumes the tale under *healing by the rust of the weapon that wounded*. Pherekydes *FGH* 3F33, Ap 1.9.12.
- 23 E1c, P 2.18.4. E2, Bacch. fr. 4, Barrett 426; 428f.
- 24 Pley 397, Robert 251. Pheidon, Ar. *Pol.* 1310b26. Str. 8.3.33 [358]. *Il.* 2.559-80, but it is controversial how far this passage can be pressed as history: see Hope Simpson-Lazenby 70-2. P 2.16.2f.
- 25 Bethe (1891) 46f. sees the tale as devised to answer the questions, *Who are these Anaxagorids? What is the mighty race of the Talaiids? To which stock does Amphiaraios belong – or does he stand alone?* – questions whose interest emerges from the mythology of the *Thebais*

- and *Epigonoí*. He also notes the awkward inconsistencies in the number of generations in each of the three stems. Friedlaender 33, 37 also relates the three clans primarily to the war against Thebes, though perhaps he takes Anaxagoras too seriously. Iphis, P 2.18.5. Amphiaraios perhaps more kingly in Σ Pind. *N.* 9.30b (Löffler 41). West 145 is cautious: ‘a group of three powerful families’.
- 26 Pind. *Paian* 4.28–30. Akarnania, Löffler 25f.
- 27 Vidal-Naquet e.g. 160f., 168, 171–4 (Gordon 153, 158, 161f.).

CHAPTER SIX MYCENAE

- 1 P 2.16.4, Robert 237; P 2.18.1. West 157–9, cf. Robert 217ff.
- 2 *Suppl.* 538–89; *Prom.* 561–886. Ap 2.1.3; Hes. fr. 124, Akous. *FGH* 2F26–27, Pher. 3F67. Epics, Meyer 67–9; testimonia and fragments in Kinkel, incl. pp. 4 and 313.
- 3 Hes. fr. 124. Akous. 2T5, 2F26, cf. 2F25, 27. P 2.16.1, 2.17.5. Ap 2.1.2. Plu. fr. 158 Sandbach. Hyg. *Fab.* 145. *Phoronis* fr.4. Hesych. s.v. Io Kallithyessa. I have deliberately omitted the sole surviving fragment of Demetrios ‘of Argos’, 304F1, apparently indicating that Argos I made the statue ‘in Tiryns’, as though it was still there at the time of writing, which Jacoby (1922) 368f. puts at c. 400 BC. But the statue was obviously removed from Tiryns when the Argives destroyed Tiryns in 468 BC and (Str. 8.6.11 [373]) its inhabitants left, P 2.17.5. And Clement’s report of his Demetrios is plainly sloppy: ‘Peiras, son of Argos’ has been hastily read as ‘Argos’ and ‘the statue originally in Tiryns but later . . .’ has become ‘the statue in Tiryns’.
- 4 *Peirans → Peiras regularly cf. πᾶς; *Peirans → Peirān (compensatory lengthening) → Peirēn (Ionic sound shift). Gen. Peirēnos reformed from the nom.; original gen. *Peiranthos, normalized to Peirantos, or reinterpreted as nom. Peirasos credible but unclear. *Apios* always seemed an unlikely relative. The *-nth-* formative hypothesized above makes this pre-Greek solution quite attractive. Pre-Greeks lived in Greece longer than we think: Hes. fr. 160 and Akous. 2F25 (Ap 2.1.1) think it worth accounting for them.
- 5 Jacoby (1922) 372f. *Phoronis* fr. 4, P 2.17.5, Clem. Al. *Protr.* 4 40 P. *fin.*, 41 P. *fin.*, Plu. fr. 158 Sandbach, Call. fr. 100 Pf.
- 6 Servile Tirynthians, Hdt. 6.83, cf. Halliday (1909) 213. Jacoby *FGH* Ia 380 ad 2F26f., cf. Meyer 90f., Jacoby (1922) esp. 373.
- 7 Akous. 2F23 (drawing on the *Phoronis*?), 25f. Phoroneus, P 2.19.5, 20.3, 21.1; scarcely a Tirynthian, as Jacoby (1922) 373. Phoroneus maybe more trivial in Hes. (just succeeds in getting mentioned at fr. 123). Similarities, the daughter Kallithoë/Kallithyessa fr. 125, cf. *Phoronis* fr. 4 and even the Kouretes fr. 123, cf. fr. 3.
- 8 Fr. 122, 123; Hyg. *Fab.* 274 amongst Kinkel’s testimonia for the *Phoronis* and, in any case, Ap 2.1.1, P 2.15.4f. Niobe, Ap 2.1.1 and

- Plato *Tim.* 22, cf. Meyer 89. Árgos, P 2.22.5, Pliny *HN* 4.17, Meyer 89f.
- 9 Str. 8.6.24 [382], P 9.10.2, Mimn. fr. 21 West.
- 10 P 2.16.1. Cape Hdt. 4.38. Phorbas, Meyer 94 f., Sergent 36. Snakes, Diod. 5.58.4f., Str. 14.2.7 [653]; Pol. 16.12.1f., Diod. 4.58.7.
- 11 Ap 3.9.2. Iasios, 'a man of Arcadia', won the footrace at an Olympic Games in legendary times, P 5.8.4. His name, Frazer, *Apollodorus* ii 398 n. 2; she is *virginis Iasiae* at Val.Fl. 4.353 and *Iasis* at Prop. 1.1.10; bewildering is Ἰασίου κούρην, παρθένον Ἰαυήν, Theogn. 1288. Mainalos, Ap 3.9.2 *fin.*, P 7.13.7.
- 12 *Od.* 18.246; cf. Str. 8.6.5 [369-70] and especially the expression 'Achaean Argos' at *Il.* 9.141, *Od.* 3.251. Epithets of 'Argos' can answer the question 'Which Argos?' by stating who lived there; cf. also 'Pelagian Argos' and Drews 117-9. Iasos and Ionians in the Argolid, Farnell iv 39f. Phonology, cf. Heubeck (1987a) 140 and for bibliography 147 n. 15; one would have to hold, e.g., that the -w- in earlier forms (Linear B, Egyptian, Hebrew) such as *lawon* was only a glide after loss of intervocalic -h-. *Od.* 11.283, 17.443. Io hypocoristic, cf. ch. 3 n. 24.
- 13 Ancestors, e.g. E.G. Schmidt, *KIP* s.v. Flussgötter. Moisture, *kourotrophoi* etc., Eitrem 366f. with the various scholia on *Il.* 23.142 (Achilles and Spercheios). Thespios, Hesych. s.v., ps.-Plu. *Fluv.* 22.1, Piccaluga 120. Troad, ps.-Aeschin. *Epist.* 10.3. Inachos outside the Argolid: as name of the upper stretch of the Acheloös, Hekataios *FGH* 1F102 (Str. 6.2.4 [271]); festival *Inacheia* in Crete, apparently in honour of Ino, Nilsson (1906) 432. Ruling etc. P 2.15.4, cf. Ap 2.1.1. Cosmogony, Ap 2.1.1; Oceanos and the oriental import Tēthys (already at *Il.* 14.201), Burkert (1984) 88-90. Oineides, Hes. fr. 122, if genuine. Sons, P 2.15.5, Asklepiades *FGH* 12F16 (Ap 2.1.3). Heraion, Kelly 54f., 61. Tragedians, Ap 2.1.3; also Kastor *FGH* 250F8 (first century BC), Bacch. 19.18.
- 14 Priestess, Ap 2.1.3 without indication of dissent, so presumably also Hesiod, cf. fr. 124 and Akousilaos 2F26; Aesch. *Suppl.* 291, from Hellanikos (*FGH* Ia 455). Argos, 'back to Argos', Aesch. *Prom.* 854; 'horsy Argos', Bacch. 19.15; 'this Argive land', Aesch. *Suppl.* 292. Heraion, Robert 253, Thomson 284f., Burkert (1972) 185 (166). Tree, Pliny *HN* 16.239, Ap 2.1.3. Euboia, Str. 10.1.2 [445], St. Byz. s.v. Argoura, Robert 256, Cook i 462. Hes. fr. 296 could (contrast Wilamowitz (1955) 233 n. 1) have sited the story in Argos and Io would simply have passed the island of Euboia, lending her name to it: Apollodoros 2.1.3 knows the *Aigimios* but not a siting in Euboia, and the *Aigimios* has the full-scale wanderings with ends-of-the-earth mythology, fr. 295. Mt Euboia, P 2.17.1, Str. 10.1.15 [449]; Wilamowitz (1955) 233 n. 1. And *which* Euboia did the statue of Dionysos at P 2.23.1 really come from?
- 15 Ap 2.1.3, Aesch. *Suppl.* 294f. Aesch. *Prom.* 640-77.
- 16 Hes. fr. 124 and Ap 2.1.3; Bacch. 19.17 points to Zeus; Hera at Aesch. *Suppl.* 299-301, maybe not an isolated version according to

- Wehrli 197 n. 10, and cf. Robert 256. Colour, Ap 2.1.3; ‘golden’ at Bacch. 19.16 is a nice touch, picking up the fabulous (cf. J.J. Winkler, *Auctor and Actor*, 1985, Berkeley/Los Angeles, 299 n. 17) or the erotic (cf. ‘Golden Aphrodite’, e.g. Il. 3.64). Bull, Thomson (1973) 136f., (1978) 285, cf. Burkert (1984) 115 and n. 8. *Supplices*, Cook i 438–40.
- 17 Parentage: son of Arestor, Ap 2.1.3 (Pherekydes 3F67); of Inachos, Asklepiades of Tragilos 12F16; of Argos I and Ismene, Kerkops = Hes. fr. 294; earthborn, Akousilaos 2F27, followed by Aesch. *Suppl.* 305, *Prom.* 677. Eyes, Hes. fr. 294, Pherekydes 3F66 cf. Bacch. 19.21–3; Bacch. 19.20, Eur. *Phoen.* 1116ff., Dionysios of Samos 15F1 – cf. multiple eyes at Aesch. *Prom.* 678f.; Ov. *Met.* 1.626, Stat. *Silvae* 5.4.12. He could even (conveniently for the artist) be two-headed on vases, Burkert (1972) 188 n. 28 (167 n. 28).
- 18 Throws a stone, Ap 2.1.3 cf. Bacch. 19.32; music, Ov. *Met.* 1.678, 713ff., cf. Bacch. 19.35f. Robert 253f, cf. Meyer 71.
- 19 Kretschmer (1920) esp. 48f. Kretschmer (1936) 236f.; and cf. Fontenrose 195 who cites *Vritrahan* (‘slayer of Vritra’, *han* being etymologically the same root as *phon-*), a title of Indra. ‘Monstrous herdsman’, Fontenrose 338. Bellerophon, Kretschmer (1936) 237, citing Σ A,B,D,T Il. 5.155 and Hesychios, defines this as a rationalistic invention. Other etymologies, Kretschmer (1920) 48; *id.* *Glotta* 27 (1939) 33 rightly denounces the desperate resort by Chantraine to a pre-Greek non-solution.
- 20 Ap 2.1.3, Pliny *HN* 16.239. Aesch. *Prom.* 673–81.
- 21 Gadfly, Ap 2.1.3, Aesch. *Suppl.* 306–9, 540–2, *Prom.* 681–2. Aristeas, Hdt. 4.12–13, Bolton 7. Wanderings, Aesch. *Prom.* 709–35, 791–816 (including Aristean griffins and Arimaspeans) 829–52. West 149f. Meyer 77f., 84. Robert 259.
- 22 *Od.* 11.249. Etymology, Aesch. *Suppl.* 312–14, *Prom.* 849–51; ‘auf spielerische Volksetymologie’ Robert 261. Cf. Hdt. 2.153; *pace* Meyer 77. Apis, Friedlaender 7. Meyer 77, approved by Robert 260. The idea of Friedlaender 9 (cf. Robert 259 n. 6) that Io bore Epaphos in Argos, and he in turn bore Danaos and Aigyptos, combines too much, loses the clarity of the founder-of-the-tribe mythology (why Danaäns, not Epaphians?), and allows a late entrant (Aigyptos). Burkert (1979) 6f., cf. his oral comments on Kallisto at Henrichs 236), sees tribe-foundation as the category of the Io-myth, though as Friedlaender without dropping Epaphos.
- 23 Pliny *HN* 16.239, Ap 2.1.3. K. Ziegler s.v. Mykenai, *KIP* 3 col.1584, P 2.15.4 (did Pausanias himself know of the later Mycenae?), Str. 8.6.10 [372]. Heraion and Mycenae, Str. 8.6.10 [372]; P 2.17.1; Str. 8.6.2 [368]. Bridge, Marinatos 90 – interestingly near to the heroön of Agamemnon.
- 24 Cult, Wright esp. 192, 197–200. Eighth-century terrace, also Kelly 54. Drews esp. pp. 126–8. ‘Argive Hera and Alalkomenean Athene,’ Il. 4.8, 5.908; favourite cities, Il. 4.52.
- 25 More recent excavations at Tiryns point to continuity from Mycen-

- aeon times, cf. Wright's *Addendum*, 201. At Tiryns the problem is less severe in that the later Hera cult on the Upper Citadel could, if necessary, be thought of as continuing the cult practised in the LHIIC temple on the Lower Citadel (Rutkowski 185–9); but at the Heraion there is only one site in question.
- 26 Is there some twentieth-century romanticism in thinking cults are founded because of the discovery of Mycenaean tombs – or in attributing (Graf (1985b) 71) the locations of mythology to wonder at the impressive remains of Mycenaean times? Antiquity of cult, Nilsson (1932) 63 and Tomlinson 33f., suggesting that the cult 'should be significantly older than the earliest attested remains'. Eleusis, e.g. Rutkowski 192; sacred enclosures, Rutkowski 228, 12, 99.
 - 27 Iconography, Sourvinou-Inwood (1985) 145 n.173. The Proitids are said to be priestesses only in Serv. ad Verg. *Ecl.* 6.48 [ch. 4, Appendix], though one may harbour suspicions about what they are doing in the shrine, cf. Wilamowitz (1955) i 241: 'Die Töchter des Proitos, Priesterinnen oder doch Dienerinnen'.
 - 28 *Arrhaphoroi*, P 1.27.3. Locrian maidens, Tzetzes Σ Lycophr. 1141, Fehrle 118. Leukippides, P 3.16.1, Fehrle 109.
 - 29 Respectively, P 2.33.2, 2.10.4, 7.19.2, 7.26.5, 9.10.4, 7.24.4, 10.34.8, 8.47.3; Fehrle 93, 98, 100, 100, 79, 96, 103, Immerwahr 54f.
 - 30 Pestalozza 181. Bremmer (1983) 124.
 - 31 Delphi, Diod. 16.26.6; Fehrle 95 n.1, Bremmer in Arrigoni 284. Hymnia, P 8.5.11–12; Fehrle *ibid.*, Bremmer *ibid.* 'Seizure of the virgin priestess', also P 3.18.4 (Artemis Knagia at Sparta). Sex with boy-friend in the temple, P 7.19.2–5 (Artemis Triklaria at Patrai). In a way, Heliodoros, *Ethiopika* 2–4 tells the story of the elopement of a priestess (*zakoros* 2.35) of Artemis from Delphi.
 - 32 Plu. *Numa* 10.1, 9.5. P 9.27.6; Charops, Schachter (1986) 5, 31–7.
 - 33 Thuc. 2.1, 4.133, P 2.17.7.
 - 34 *Aeiparthenos*, Sappho 96 B. (Alkaios T1.i.5 L-P), Dio Chrys. 56.5.7 (Vestals); *aipais*, Peek *GVI* 1941.3 (Thisbe). Auge, Immerwahr 54–7; Aleaia, e.g. P 8.47.4; *choroi*, Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 336; nocturnal, Moses Chor. *Progymnasmata* 3.3 but surely out of Euripides, see Nauck *ad Eur.* fr. 265–81.
 - 35 Robert 253; H. von Geisau, *KIP* s.v. Io, 1427; West 145.
 - 36 Heraion, West 153, Wright e.g. 189–91, Leekley-Noyes 62. 'Cow', Cook i 441, Wilamowitz (1955) 241. Dress and restriction, Bekker *Anecd. Graeca* 1.202f. (Fehrle 117) cf. Harpokr. s.v. *arrhephorein* (Deubner 11 n.6), Fehrle 69f. cf. 48 (Priene) 'enter the shrine *hagnos* (i.e. sexually pure) in white clothing', 94 (Elis – P 6.20.3). Troy, Tzetzes Σ Lycophr. 1141 (Fehrle 118). *Kanephoros*, Σ Theok. 2.66, which Fehrle 119 relates to Athens.
 - 37 Dion.Hal. *Ant.Rom.* 1.21.2, surely out of Hellanikos (cf. 1.22.3 = *FGH* 4F79).
 - 38 P 2.17.1. Plu. *Mor.* 300a, c.
 - 39 Burkert (1972) 184–7 (164–7) (but Argos as bull, even as Zeus, is an old idea, Cook i 458f.). Herdsman, Arrian *FGH* 156F16, Lucian

- Dial. Deorum* 3. Arcadian bull and hide, Ap 2.1.2. Trial, Antikleides *FGH* 140F19 cf. Xanthos of Lydia 765F29. Epithet, *H. Hymn Hermes* 436. Tenedos, Ael. *Nat. An.* 12.34.
- 40 Σ Pind. *N. hyp.* c. Arrian *FGH* 156F16 mistakenly supposes Nemea to be the name of the *akra* ('peak, citadel') of Argos, relating it to the cult of Zeus Aphesios founded by Deukalion (cf. Cook ii 892 n.4, i 117); this is through confusion with the cult of Zeus *Apesantios* ('of the mountain Apesas'), the cult which Perseus founded on the ridge between Nemea and Kleonai (P 2.15.3, Jessen *RE* s.v. Aphesios); Apesas appears to be a pre-Greek peak name, grecized in the epithet *aphesios* (otherwise one would have expected a more direct word such as *Hyetios* or *Ombrios* – cf. Cook's difficulty at ii 179f.). Zeus Aphesios mediates between drought and flood, Piccaluga 75–84. Jacoby *FGH* on Arrian wrongly supposes the Argos in question to be Argos I the eponymous king, but cf. Lucian *Dial. Deorum* 3.
- 41 Homer, Hope Simpson-Lazenby 72. First Labour, Ap 2.5.If., Diod. 4.11.3. Argolid, Ap 2.5.1. Tretos, P 2.15.2, cf. Hes. *Th.* 331, Diod. 4.11.3. Skin, e.g. Diod. 4.11.4. Games, Σ Pind. *N. hyp.* a (alternative), d and e (Herakles later modifies the games and makes them sacred to Zeus). Bacch. 9.1–24, though reserving the foundation for Adrastos, mentions Herakles in this context. Herakles' association with warrior youths, Graf 99.
- 42 Ephoros *FGH* 70F115 (Str. 8.3.33 [358]), P 6.22.2. Managed by Kleonai, Σ Pind. *N. hyp.* d; under Argive patronage, McGregor 277 n.47, Griffin 51. War, Nemea, Adrastos: Pind. *N.* 9.21, 10.52, Bacch. 9.19–24; Hdt. 5.67 (NB ἐόντα Ἀργεῖον) but contrast Hom. *Il.* 2.572, 'where Adrastos first was king'; McGregor 274–8, Kelly 125–7.
- 43 Ap 2.1.2. Let us leave aside the slaughter of Viper, a danger to wayfarers left unkilld at Hes. *Th.* 303, and bringing the murderers of Apis – the Egyptian sacred cow – to justice! Ap 2.5.7.
- 44 *H. Hymn Hermes* 74, 148. Walcot 343–6, 333. There is a connection with initiatory youth also at Tanagra, where in ritual the part of Hermes is played by the most handsome ephebe and Hermes himself is said to have led the ephebes, P 9.22.2. Ap 2.5.10, Hes. *Th.* 287–94 (NB West *ad* 293).
- 45 Str. 10.1.12 [448], neatly put in context by Garlan 29.
- 46 P 9.24.3, 9.27.1. And cf. the pyramidal stone called 'Apollo Karinos' at Megara, P 1.44.2; or the stalagmite in the Cave of Eileithyia at Amnisos. P 9.38.1, 35.1; 7.22.4. The ancient hymn of the Elean women, Plu. *Mor.* 299b, notably cites the Graces.
- 47 P 1.23.5, 1.35.3, 1.42.2, 9.10.3; Soph. *OC* 19, 101, 1756–63 (but a *heroön* at P 1.30.4); P 10.24.6.
- 48 P 9.11.2. P 2.31.4. P 3.22.1, cf. Wide 21 (meaning of *kappōtas*) and 371–2 (close relationship with Zeus *Terastios*), Cook iii 939–42 cf. ii 17f. P 1.28.5; 'ruthlessness' of the prosecutor in not granting an out-of-court settlement (I am grateful to Dr N.R.E. Fisher for drawing this to my attention). *Il.* 18.504, Graf 198.
- 49 Ap 1.9.12. Apollo, Ap 3.10.3f: (a) Asklepios raises the dead; (b)

- Zeus kills Asklepios with a thunderbolt (= divine stone); (c) Apollo kills the manufacturers, the monstrous Kyklopes; (d) in lieu of capital punishment Apollo serves a year's community service. Orestes wanders, maybe, like the Proitids, in Arcadia, cf. Parker 386; for a year according to Eur. *Or.* 1645, but this could be a Euripidean invention, cf. Parker 376 on Aeolus, and 116 on Athenian law on involuntary killing – 'exile . . . normally . . . fixed at a year'.
- 50 *Polis*, Parker 116f. Trials, Antikleides 140F19 (and Xanthos 765F29). There is a relationship with stories told of the Areopagus at Athens: there Ares was the first to stand trial, though Aesch. preferred to use the trial of Orestes as *aition*: Hellanikos *FGH* 323aF1 and Jacoby *ad loc.*, Parker 386. I doubt if the later attested Mycenaean Haliaia should be taken into account; the Argive Haliaia, Schulthess *RE* s.v. Halia, and Meyer 101–4; Haliaia and Pron, Σ Eur. *Or.* 872. Danaos etc., Eur. *Or.* 872f.; Jacoby *ad* 306F3 III b 27 claims Bk.9 was too late for a Danaid story, but a book number is a slight thing to rest on: the tale could even have been told in retrospect.
- 51 Hermes is close to stones in cult: Hermaia are heaps of stones at margins – typical site for the liminal period of initiations – and the stones at Pharai each named after a god are in a precinct of Hermes. I suppose it is mere punning to observe that Hermes in effect slays Argos with an *argos lithos*, 'unwrought stone' (his epithet should then be *aergophontes*, which oddly enough it is in Σ *Il.* 2.103). Shamanic Hermes: cf. Burkert (1962) 46; contrast, surprisingly, Eliade (1972) 392.
- 52 Burkert (1979) 6f., cf. Graf (1985b) 52–4.
- 53 There should be a tribe of Epaphoi or the like; a very long shot is that there once had been and that the name accounts for *Paphos*, a town on Cyprus founded by 'Arcadians' under Agapenor and rich in Mycenaean imports. See *KIP* s.v. Paphos, P 8.5.2, Str. 14.6.3 [683].
- 54 Renewal of maidenhood, P 2.38.3. Gruppe 184: 'Denn Io ist Herapriesterin; ursprünglich war sie sogar wohl Hera selbst.' Hypostasis a 'vague and shadowy conception', Cook i 453.

CHAPTER SEVEN ARGOS AND RHODES

- 1 P 2.37.3. Kelly chs 1–2, Coldstream 152–6, Desborough 221f., 225f., 230f., 243, Snodgrass 29, 31, 56f. Drews and Wright [ch. 6.4.1] exaggerate the depopulation of Argos. At the beginning of Proto-geometric in Argos there is a change to cist tombs and a probably illusory increase in 'Alpine' types of skull in them, Desborough 40, cf. Snodgrass 184–7; I doubt if a Doric skull was measurably different from an Ionic/Aeolic one.
- 2 Founders, Σ Pind. *O.* 1.149b, Pfister 445, 447ff.; Brelich (1958) 129f. Late invention, H. von Geisau *KIP* s.v. Danaoi: ' . . . einem späteren

- Stadium . . . als man Stammesheroen erfand'; Meyer 85 thinks Danaos' grave late and insignificant. Tomb of Ilos, *Il.* 10.415f., 11.166f. (other refs., Pfister 283). Erechtheus, *Il.* 2.546–51. Eur. fr. 228 N². Pelasgians, cf. P 8.4.1 (Arkas) or even Hdt. 2.52.1 (polytheists with no god names!). Achievements, Str. 8.6.9 [371], P 2.19.3/7, Bonner 137f. (writing, Hekataios *FGH* 1F20); Graf 223.
- 3 Bonner 143, but he regards Danaos as secondary in Thessaly. These slight references (e.g. to Inachos in Thessaly and 'Gates of Proitos' at Thebes) form an intelligible part of tribal movements (cf. Achilles and Aeolians, ch. 3). 'ursprüngl. thessal.?', von Geisau loc.cit. In *CAH*³ II.2 R.O. Faulkner (242) and F.H. Stubbings (339f.) are inclined to accept the *Denyen* in an Egyptian text of c. 1190 BC as *Danaoi*. Other apparent Near Eastern references to the Danaoi in fact refer to the city of Adana (but so may the Daniuna) according to Gurney 42f.; R.D. Barnett and N.G.L. Hammond (*CAH*³ II.2 365, 680) accept the reference to Adana but are prepared to contemplate Greek Danaoi having migrated there, but Barnett takes the 'oriental origin' of Danaos too seriously and Hammond, e.g. (1967), is too inclined to see historical leaders of migrations in the Greek legend. I am not convinced by Craik's (1982) view that Homer's Danaoi are in fact Dorians, though she associates Danuna with Danaoi, (1980) 160.
- 4 West 154; Friedlaender 6.
- 5 Hdt. 2.182 (cf. Str. 14.2.11 [655]); Danaos himself, Call. fr. 100.4 Pf. (aniconic), Ap 2.1.4 and Diod. 5.58.1, an insignificant variation – cf. Bacch. 11.40 and 110 (Proitos or Proitids?); *Marmor Parium* (1510 BC, Craik (1980) 160), *FGH* IIB 239A9; Diod. 5.58.1, Garvie 166 (NB Σ *Il.* 1.42 = Ap 2.1.4). Friedlaender 14 is acute on Amasis.
- 6 Calame 70–2.
- 7 Lindos, Hope Simpson-Lazenby 117; but the later sanctuary of Athene destroyed earlier levels, Mee 74. LH IIIA2, LH IIIC pottery linking Argolid and Ialysos, Mee 12–14, 90, Macdonald 126, 138f. Str. 14.2.6 [653]; *Hippios*, Farnell iv 18 and see ch. 5 n.20 above. Spindle, Graf 210/4; seated Athene, also *LIMC* II 959 # 22 (statuettes 525–400 BC).
- 8 Hyg. *Fab.* 169, 169A Rose; Ap 2.1.4f.; Eur. *Phoen.* 187ff.; Hes. fr. 128; other poets, cf. Hes. fr. 297 (Ap 2.1.5 – dispute over who Amyone married). Art, *LIMC* I 742–52.
- 9 P 2.36.8–37.1, cf. Str. 8.6.8 [371]. Nauplios, P 4.35.2.
- 10 Dispossession, Theopompos *FGH* 115F383 (Str. 8.6.11 [373]), P 4.35.2, Kelly 88f. Faure (1969) xxvii, though his historicizing needs the correction of Detienne 13f. Prosymna, P 2.37.1; P 2.37.5 (not Polymnos, Nilsson 591 n.6), and Clem. *Protr.* II p.30 P.
- 11 Bremmer 1987b *passim*; P 2.38.2/4.
- 12 Hes. fr. 127, 128; *Danaïs* fr. 1 Kinkel. Clem. Al., *Strom.* 4.120; on the interpretation of the fragment, Garvie 179. The murder can motivate the flight if set in Egypt, Libanius, *Narr.* 6 (VIII 36 Foerster), Garvie 164, Bonner 132.
- 13 Exhaustive treatment in Garvie ch. V.

- 14 The story, Hyg. *Fab.* 168; Ap 2.1.5.
- 15 Aigyptos not in Argos, Hes. fr. 127 (Σ Eur. *Or.* 872, Hekataios *FGH* 1F19). Varying accounts of motivation, Bonner 130f.; the marriage not incestuous, *ibid.* 137, Garvie 216–20. Aesch., Garvie 171, contrast E. Keuls *LIMC* III 342. Melanipp. *Danaides* Page *PMG* 757 (Ath. 14.651f.); Friedlaender 12f. Benveniste 130 acutely highlights the problematic motivation of the Danaids, though his refuge in incest, 133f., has not met with favour.
- 16 Hypermestra's motive, Ap 2.1.5, Σ Pind. *N.* 10.10b; Σ Eur. *Hec.* 886, Aesch. *Prom.* 891f. Bonner 132 suggests this is why Aphrodite may have pleaded Hypermestra's case in Aesch. *Danaids* fr. 44 Radt, though this speech of Aphrodite could clearly have other contexts. Imprisonment, Ap 2.1.5; trial and temple, P 2.21.1, 19.6; no trial in Aeschylus, Garvie 206–10. Abas, Ap 2.2.1, Hes. fr. 135. The other Hypermestra, P 2.21.2, Ap 1.7.10, Hes. fr. 23a.5 (as restored by West), 25.34, Hyg. *Fab.* 73 *init.* Heads, P 2.24.2.
- 17 P 3.12.2, Hyg. *Fab.* 170 *fin.*; Ap 2.1.5 cf. Bonner 134, Graf (1974) 116; Pind. *P.* 9.194–206. Second marriage maybe *announced* in Aesch. *Danaids*, Garvie 226f. Foot-race restores order, Graf *ibid.*
- 18 Pl. *Axioch.* 371e, almost implying they died because of their crime. See Garvie 176f., Bonner 164–72; underworld punishment unnecessary, Graf (1974) 118. *LIMC* III 338f., 341.
- 19 Nereids, Calame 57, citing Hes. *Th.* 264, Eur. *IA* 1054ff. etc. Thespius, Ap 2.4.10, P 9.27.6, Diod. 4.29.2f. Ilos, Ap 3.12.3. Priam, *Il.* 24.495, 6.242–50. Lykaon, Ap 3.8.1. Kinyras, Σ *Il.* 11.20a and Eust., Piccaluga 118. Theseus, Ap *Ep.* 1.11. Endymion, P 5.1.4.
- 20 Dithyramb, e.g. Calame 55. Bakchiads, Bekker *Anecd.Gr.* I 281.26ff., Σ Pind. *N.* 7.155b, Pfister 498, Calame 60. Other sizes of choros, Calame 55–62. Indo-European boys, Bremmer (1982) 138, (1983) 124, advancing from a position of G. Widengren.
- 21 Ap *Ep.* 2.5 (and Frazer's note on numbers); P 6.21.9f. Atalante, Ap 3.9.2.
- 22 Heads, Burkert (1972) 63f. (52), cf. James 55; Σ Ap. Rhod. 1.587. A strange parallel is found in the Roman sacrifice of Greeks and Gauls in the Forum Boarium coupled with yearly honours of the victims thereafter. Corinth, P 2.3.7, Ael. *VH* 5.21, Philostr. *Her.* 207K, Brelich 358.
- 23 P 8.36.6. Moist sites, Calame 262f., Bremmer (1983) 122. Drought, P 2.15.4, Piccaluga 129–31. Eleusinian-type mysteries, P 2.36.7.
- 24 Egyptians, Ap 2.1.4; Nile, ps.-Plu. *fluv.* 16.1, Piccaluga 125f. Crete, Graf (1985b) 103: 'Kreta ist Transformation jenes Ortes im Draussen, wo die jungen Leute neu geformt und zu Erwachsenen gemacht wurden'. Friedlaender 14f.; Hypermestra in Hellenikos' list of priestesses, *FGH* Ia 455, Burkert (1972) 184 n.11 (164 n.11), Friedlaender 15. Dionysos, P 2.37.2. Ram etc., Plu. *Mor.* 364f., P 2.37.5–6, *Il.* 6.135f. Graf 235f.
- 25 Hippokleides, Hdt. 6.128f. Penelope, P 3.12.1; Atalante, Ap 3.9.2. Elean races, P 5.1.3. The *Odyssey* combines 'marriage-contest' with

- ‘returning hero’ and Odysseus is the hero of both, cf. Thomson (1914) 101–3. Games at Argos, Arist. fr. 637 Rose.
- 26 Abantes, Arist. fr. 601 (Str. 10.1.3 [445]); *Il.* 2.536; Hes. *Aigimios* fr. 296; Hdt. 1.146. Amphiaraios, Hes. fr. 25.34–6. Akarnania, Löffler 25.
- 27 Lynkeus–Lyrkeia, P 2.25.4f. (apparently believed by Nilsson 131 n.5), Burkert (1970) 12. Krathis, P 8.15.9.
- 28 Graf 223, 236, 241.
- 29 Burkert (1970) esp. 7, 12.
- 30 Hdt. 2.171. Nilsson 463 (1906) 313–25, Burkert (1977) 365 (242); P. Arbesmann in *RE* s.v. Thesmophoria cites references to Sparta, ‘Gytheion?’, Pheneos (in Arcadia), Troizen, and Megara.
- 31 *Il.* 2.559, 572.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SHORT STORIES FROM ACHAIA AND ARCADIA

- 1 Plu. *Aristid.* 20.5–6. Eukleia is, however, a recurring epithet, P 9.17.1 (Thebes – but NB burials of the daughters of Antipoinos), 1.14.5 (Athens). Farnell ii.461f., 575 n.66; Schachter 102–6, *LIMC* II 677.
- 2 Ant.Lib. *Met.* 13. Literature, Brelich 443 n.2 (with ref. to cults of Hanged Artemis), Gruppe 735, Nilsson (1906) 232–7, (1955) 28, 585, Calame 259f., Farnell ii.466 n.a. Active death: maidens according to Loraux 61 tend to be killed rather than kill themselves; otherwise, hanging is the approved method for women, Loraux 34.
- 3 Ant.Lib. *Met.* 25 (siting of the oracle at ‘Gortyn’ is a puzzle, Schachter (1986) 116 n.1), cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.685–99 with interesting sex-change. Usener 325, Schachter (1986) 116f.
- 4 Eur. *Hel.* 381–3. Calame 175; Quintus Sm. 8.6.71. Daughter Kos, St.Byz. s.v., Kannicht on Eur. *Hel.* 375–85.
- 5 P 7.19 for the story; ineffective interpretations before Massenzio (1968) with far too many scholars taking human sacrifice historically [cf. ch. 2.4.2], Massenzio (1968) 107–11; Massenzio 114–7 shows how the redemption from human sacrifice is central to this type of myth, not a later palliation. Triklaria, Brelich 368 and n.144, cf. Nilsson (1906) 217. Elements of synoikism, P 7.21.6. NB Triklaria by the river (P 7.19.4) is different from Laphria on the acropolis (correctly, Brelich 370).
- 6 P 7.20.1f.; ‘a given number of’, not ‘all’ the children – Massenzio (1968) 119 etc. misunderstands the Greek. Laphria not involved, Brelich 367 n.143, 369 n.146. The annual *enagisma* to Eurypylos (P 7.19.10) must go with the procession, Brelich 369. Aisymnetes to sea, P 7.21.6; Brelich 368f.; P 7.19.8 with 7.18.5. Massenzio (1968) 125 speaks of the ‘allontanamento’ of the children from the inhabited centre.

- 7 P 7.21.7 with 7.19.9.
- 8 Brelich 377; cathartic ritual, Massenzio (1968) 120.
- 9 Required resolution, Massenzio (1968) 114–17; renewal of the community, *ibid.* 130. A ceremony mentioned at P 7.21.6 appears to re-enact the synoikism to create Eurypylos' identity, cf. Nilsson (1906) 217. Eurypylos and Dionysos Aisymnetes, Graf (1985) 84–7.
- 10 Graf 241 on Dionysos and Artemis is attractive, but runs into difficulty when Lousoi is separated from the Agriania.
- 11 P 7.21.1–5; perhaps one should connect Callirhoë, daughter of the nearby River Acheloös, Ovid *Met.* 9.413f. Springs, ch. 3 n.14. Kalydon chief centre, Hope Simpson-Lazenby 109. Thuc. 3.102. Koresos and Kallirhoë also discussed by Kakridis 149–51 in connection with the myth of Alkestis.
- 12 Augustus, P 7.18.8f., Nilsson (1906) 218. Rite, P 7.18.11ff. Naupaktos, P 4.31.7, 10.38.12, Thuc. 1.103, Nilsson (1906) 218.
Another relative of the Patrai story is that of Euthymos and the Hero of Temesa (P 6.6.7, Bremmer (1983b) 106f.), where Euthymos ends sacrifice, this time of the prettiest maiden annually as death-bride (the Polyxena motif) for the Hero. We should not be distracted by the alleged historicity of Euthymos (fifth-century Olympic victor), cf. Telesilla [ch. 5.4]: this is another chaos and recovery myth belonging with a ritual of the same family as the Patrai material and presumably linked by population movements.
- 13 Exemplary aitiological myth for Graf (1985b) 43. Hellenistic taste, H. von Geisau in *KIP* s.v. Other sources and iconography, *LIMC* III 344–8.
- 14 Ov. *Met.* 1.472 (Hyg. *Fab.* 203 is copied from Ovid, cf. reading of Ovid at 183.3). Thessalian, 1.569f., Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.130. Amyklai, Parthenius 15 (Phylarchos *FGH* 81F32), cf. Plu. *Agis* 9, Virg. *Ecl.* 6.83. Ladon, P 8.20.1, Stat. *Theb.* 4.289, etc. (see *RE* IV.2138). Elean Ladon, P 6.22.5, which however Str. 8.3.5 [338] calls the 'Sellêeis' (the local inhabitants have followed *Il.* 2.659). Theban River Ismenos originally called Ladon, P 9.10.6.
- 15 Apollo, P 6.24.6, 8.15.5, 8.38.2 and 8 (*Parrhasios* = 'belonging to the towns of the district Parrhasia'), 8.25.11 cf. 3f.; Immerwähr 128–34. *Daphnephoria*, Schachter 83–5. For lovers of riddles: Thelpousa and Delphi seem to be the same word, Immerwähr 116, and Thelposeus is a man's name on two Pylos Linear B tablets (*te-po-se-u*), Sergent 36, Palmer (1956) 6.
- 16 Philostr. *Vit.Ap.* 1.16; *RE* IV.2138f.
- 17 Bremmer (1978) 14, Schmitt 1067.
- 18 Hypsoi, P 3.24.8. Artemides, Strabo 8.3.12 [343]. Bronze Age, McDonald-Hope Simpson 226, 257; Desborough 91.
- 19 *Il.* 2.608; strangely, having proposed to list 'those who held Arcadia under steep Mount Kyllene', the poet does not mention Stymphalos, which actually is under Mt Kyllene, until he has covered faraway Tegea and Mantinea (in a very pedestrian line). Hope Simpson-Lazenby 93. Ap 3.12.6.

- 20 Peisandros (not in Kinkel) ap. P 8.22.4. Pherekydes *FGH* 3F72, Hellanikos 4F104 (new, rationalizing, thought: made his own castanets, cf. Jacoby *ad loc.*), Mnaseas (Euhemerizing: the Stymphalian Birds were actually women unprepared to accept Herakles), a Chares, Seleukos of Alexandria 341F3 – all in Σ Ap.Rhod. 2.1052 and 1055. Ap 2.5.6, P 8.22.4. Slaughter, Pherekydes, Hellanikos, Apollodoros. No slaughter, Peisandros, Ap.Rhod. 2.1056f., Diod. 4.13.2. ‘Vertreibung ursprünglicher’, Jacoby *FGH ad* Pherekydes 3F72. There is a close relationship between these sources: taking up position on the mountain to rattle the castanets associates Ap.Rhod. 2.1056 with Ap (so, common source) and the splendid word *platagē* (‘clapper’) for instance connects Diod. 4.13.2 with Apollonios – the standard word is *krotala* (‘castanets’).
- 21 Serv. *Aen.* 8.299; Diod. 4.13.2; P 8.22.4; Ap.Rhod. 2.1030–89, utterly misunderstood by Hyg. *Fab.* 30.6, 20.
- 22 P 8.22.7.
- 23 P 8.22.2. Immerwähr 33; 155 (‘Wassergöttin’).
- 24 Wolves generally prey on large, hoofed beasts and, failing that, smaller mammals, according to Buxton in Bremmer (1987) 61. Warriors, Burkert (1972) 104f. (90f.), Graf 225f. Iconography, Sourvinou-Inwood (1985) 130. Cranes, Plu. *Sollert.Anim.* 967b–c, Dikaiarchos ap. Plu.*Thes.* 21; Calame 78, 230f. Penelope, Thomson (1914) 46–51.
- 25 Eumelos fr. 14 K., Hes. fr. 163, Asios fr. 9 K., Pherekydes *FGH* 3F157. Ap 3.8.2, P 8.3.6, Ovid *Met.* 2.409–507, *Fasti* 2.153–90. A brief account of Callimachus’ version fr. 632 (ΣA *Il.* 18.487) survives – *pace* Pfeiffer who exaggerates its verbal similarity to P 8.3.6. Great Bear, Hes. fr. 163? cf. Sale (1962) 140. Eratosthenes in e.g. Hyg. *Poet.Astr.* II.1, Ps.Eratosth. *Catast.* 1 p.1 Ol., p.50 Rob. (Hes. fr. 163), cf. Sale 123f.
- 26 Ap 3.8.2 claims Hesiod made Kallisto a nymph, but Eratosthenes said Hesiod made her the daughter of Lykaon; the latter Ap attributes to Eumelos, transposing his sources, cf. Franz 237 n.1 and ch. 4 n.12. As with the Proitids, some suppose Hesiod said different things in different poems: there we had the *Catalogue* and the *Melampodeia*, here Robert and Sale (1962) 135f. suggest the *Catalogue* and the *Astronomia*. Two systems, West 154f., cf. ‘unvereinbaren gestalten des Lykaon und Arkas’, Jacoby on 316F2. A nymph according to Sale (1965) 21f. also.
- 27 Hyriē, Ap 3.5.5 (read Νυκτέως καὶ Κλονίης), 3.10.1, Hope Simpson-Lazenby 19, P 2.6.1f.; cf. Hes. fr. 181–2. Schoinous in Arcadia, P 8.35 *fin.* Klonas, inventor of the seven flute *Ragas* claimed for both Thebes and Tegea, Plu. *de mus.* 1133a. Sale (1965) 24 n.30 attributes the Nykteus genealogy to Boiotians in Arcadia; Boiotian influence in Arcadia, Immerwähr 42, 44, 68–70, 116, 165f., 219–21, Plu. *QG* 300a, Gruppe i 195–201, Thomson (1914) 41f., 52, 71f. Nyktimos, P 8.3.1, Ap 3.8.1. Equivalence, Perpillou 205.
- 28 Araithos *FGH* 316F2 (mainly Hyg. *Astr.* II.1 *fin.*). Stilbe, Σ Eur.

- Or.* 1646, though Jacoby (on 3F157) doubts that the scholiast's version is from Pherekydes. Keteioi, *Od.* 11.521; for the River Keteios (Str. 13.1.70 [616]), compare the River Minyeios = Anigros. Sale (1965) 24 n.30 holds much the same view.
- 29 *Fasti* 2.173, cf. *Lycaonia* Cat. 66.66 (Call. fr. 110).
- 30 Araithos *FGH* 316F2; *Ov. Met.* 249, but contrast *Nonacrina Atalanta* (*Ars* 2.185) and Evander the *Nonacrius heros* (*Fasti* 5.97) and see F. Bömer on *Met.* 2.409. It might however be through Kallisto that 'Nonacrian' developed this broad meaning. However, the same problem arises with Ovid's description of Kallisto as *virgo Tegeaea* at *Fasti* 2.167, *Ars Am.* 2.55, unless these refer (if approximately) to the other location – both are in S.E. Arcadia. Ruins of Nonakris, P 8.17.6. Hermes: Σ Theoc. 1.123, Ap 3.8.2, and Hesiodic-local according to Franz 266–83; LIMC II 609f.
- 31 Tomb, P 8.35.8; minor towns, 8.27.3; Arkas, 8.9.3.
- 32 Amphis fr.47 Kock, with Henrichs in Bremmer (1987) 262; disguise as Apollo (Ap 3.8.2) no more plausible, cf. *id.* 263. Sources, cf. Sale (1962) 133, 137; distribution of motifs between Hes. *Cat.* and Hes. *Astron.* is scarcely possible and source criticism on its own cannot define the 'original' myth, cf. Henrichs *ibid.* 256 ff. and esp. 262.
- 33 *Eur. Hel.* 375–9 ('puzzling account', Henrichs in Bremmer (1987) 260) presents a textual, not a mythological, problem: Kallisto leaves (*leg.* ἀπέβας) Zeus' bed four-footed (with mild prolepsis) and *cannot* be a lioness (379 is corrupt), cf. Kannicht *ad loc.*
- 34 Franz 266–72 rejects catasterism as an ending in Hesiod, but feels the compulsion to supply another ending (from Σ Theoc. 1.123); Sale (1962) 133–41 argues that we do not know how Hesiod's version ended; Schwartz 126 alone thinks in terms of a limited story in Hesiod. Artemis' motives, P and Ap, Call. fr. 632, 'nonnulli' ap. Hyg. *Poet. Astr.* 2.1, 'some' ap. Ap, cf. *Certamen* 111f. Sale 125f., 129; cf. Henrichs in Bremmer (1987) 261 'hardly more than mythological patchwork'.
- 35 'Narratio . . . seram clamat aetatem', Franz 265. Pind. *N.* 2.17f.; Hes. fr. 288–91; cf. Sale (1962) 138–40. Eratosthenes, Hyg. *Astr.* 2.2; Araithos, Hyg. *Astr.* 2.6. Aratos *Phaen.* 24–37. Note e.g. no reference to Kallisto at *Od.* 5.271.
- 36 Cf. Henrichs in Bremmer (1987) 260–2, esp. 261: 'Regardless of its date, the catasterism is the most extraneous aspect of the myth.'
- 37 Tomb, cf. Sale (1965) 19. Sale 15, also Henrichs in Bremmer (1987) 263.
- 38 P 8.9.3.
- 39 Sale (1965) 14 and 19 and Brelich 263 n.69. Shooting only, *Certamen* 111f. and Ap 3.8.2 ('there are those who say Artemis shot her down'); Henrichs (in Bremmer (1987) 265f.) cites Aktaion for *both* metamorphosis and death; coins, e.g. LIMC II 730 # 1387. Brelich 263 n.69. Sale (1965) esp. 32f., Burkert in Henrichs 236, cf. Burkert (1979) 6f.
- 40 K.O. Müller, *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie*,

1825, 73–5 is cited; Farnell ii 435–8, cf. Burkert (1972) 91 (77); H. von Geisau in *KIP* s.v. Kallisto: ‘Artemis Kallisto, deren Hypostase sie ist’. Bubbe 2 (quite conventional at the time, cf. Meyer 69, Farnell ii 438 on totemism and the divinity of the bear). Brelich 263, Henrichs 202 and in Bremmer (1987) 264f. and 276 n.86 (bibliography), Lloyd-Jones 98. Cf. Calame 345.

41 Sale (1965) 30.

42 Megalopolis and multitude of towns, P8.27. Sons of Arkas, P8.4 *Iliad* 2.605f.

CHAPTER NINE ORIGINS OF A MYTHOLOGY: SOME CONCLUSIONS

- 1 Lack of poetesses at Athens, Cantarella 75. Elis, P 5.16.2.
- 2 Przyłuski esp. 133, 130, Burkert (1972) 104f. (90f.), Bremmer (1978).
- 3 Individual initiation and puberty rites, La Fontaine 162f., Brelich 41–3, 104 n.147
- 4 Arrigoni (1982) ch. 5 shows a range of associations for Camilla: Amazons, Iphigeneia, Kallisto, Atalante, *camilli*-ae of Diana, though he doubts whether genuine Italian tradition is represented by any of this material; Vergil (Arrigoni 114) was certainly one to get the Greek colouring coherent.
- 5 The basic data is available from Sanskrit dictionaries, e.g. M. Williams, Oxford, 1872, and A.A. Macdonell, London, 1924 (Oxford, 1954). Āgrahāyaṇī ceremony: Pāraskara, *Gṛihyasūtra* III.2 (*SBE* 29.338f.), Hiranyakeśin, *Gṛihyasūtra* II.7.17 (*SBE* 30.239f.).
- 6 Dion.H. 1.79.1 (not controversial), 2.67.1 (four), 1.76.3 (five years), 1.77.1 (fourth year). Beard 18. Myth, Dion.H. 1.76–79. Indo-European hero, Bremmer and Horsfall 26f.; Ilia parallels, 28f.
- 7 Recent work on authenticity of Romulus and Remus story, Bremmer and Horsfall 25; but maybe a product of the Etruscan period (sixth century BC?), *ibid.* 47f. A different view of Roman institutions is held by Radke 267f. (cf. Burkert (1979) 176 n.34), who envisages the Vestals as a ready supply of maidens for scapegoat-sacrifice (death taken too literally, cf. ch. 2.4.2). Vestals as descending from daughters and not (as surprisingly used to be thought) the wife of the king, Hommel (1972) 403f., 399. Recently it has been the ambiguity between maiden and matron that has attracted interest in the Vestals: Cantarella 154f., Beard *passim*. *Arrhephoroi* and appointment, *Souda* s.v. *epiōpsato* (2504 Adler), Burkert (1966) 4.
- 8 Demeter–Athene–Artemis, Schmitt 1068, 1064f.
- 9 Apatouria, Deubner 233, Parke 90 (according to whom ‘Dionysos had succeeded in winning a footing in the festival’). Leukippides, P 3.16.1, Calame 323; Dionysiades, 3.13.7, Calame 326; Hera, P 5.16.2, 6.24.10.
- 10 Proteleia, cf. Burkert (1966) 19f.
- 11 Didymos ap. Harpokrat. s.v. Gamelia; Schmitt 1059, Zeitlin 140.
- 12 Hommel (1972) 405–8.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

WORKS OF REFERENCE

- CAH *Cambridge Ancient History*, ed I.E.S. Edwards, C.J. Gadd, N.G.L. Hammond, J. Boardman, E. Sollberger, 3rd edn, Cambridge, 1970–
- EPRO *Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain*, ed M.J. Vermaseren, Leiden, 1961–
- FGH *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, F. Jacoby, Berlin 1926–30, Leiden, 1954–8
- KLP *Der Kleine Pauly: Lexicon der Antike*, 5 vols., ed K. Ziegler, W. Sontheimer, Munich, 1975
- LIMC *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, Zürich, 1981– (all refs are to the page number of the text volume, unless otherwise stated; # = illustration no.)
- OCD *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed N.G.L. Hammond, H.H. Scullard, 2nd edn, Oxford, 1970
- PrEnc *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, ed R. Stillwell, Princeton, New Jersey, 1976
- RE *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearbeitung*, ed G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Mittelhaus, K. Ziegler, Stuttgart, Munich, 1894–1980
- RGVV *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, ed A. Dieterich, R. Wünsch, L. Deubner, L. Malten, O. Weinreich, Giessen, later Berlin, 1903–39, ed W. Burkert and C. Colpe, Berlin, 1969–
- SBE *Sacred Books of the East*, ed F. Max Müller, Oxford 1879–1910

WORKS LISTED BY AUTHOR

- The works of modern authors are cited in the notes by the author's surname with page number. Where the Bibliography includes more than one work by an author, the reference is to the work asterisked unless a publication date is also specified. So, e.g., Brelich 363 means Brelich, *Paides e Parthenoi* p. 363.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A translation cited in parentheses in the Bibliography has its page number cited in parentheses in the notes: e.g. Burkert (1972) 194 (172).
- Abbreviations for periodicals generally follow J. Marouzeau, *Année Philologique* and are as follows:

<i>ABSA</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>AC</i>	<i>Antiquité classique</i>
<i>AD</i>	<i>Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archeology</i>
<i>AJPh</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>AK</i>	<i>Antike Kunst</i>
<i>Annales (ESC)</i>	<i>Annales (Economie, Sociétés, Civilisations)</i>
<i>ARW</i>	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London</i>
<i>CPh</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly.</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>Classical Review</i>
<i>DA</i>	<i>Dissertation Abstracts</i>
<i>HR</i>	<i>History of Religions</i>
<i>HSPh</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>LCM</i>	<i>Liverpool Classical Monthly</i>
<i>Leipz.St.</i>	<i>Leipziger Studien</i>
<i>MH</i>	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>
<i>MSS</i>	<i>Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft</i>
<i>NJA</i>	<i>Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum</i>
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
<i>RhM</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum</i>
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
<i>SBAW</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien</i>
<i>SMSR</i>	<i>Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni</i>
<i>SSR</i>	<i>Studi storico-religiosi</i>
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>VDI</i>	<i>Вестник древней истории</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

Arrigoni, G. (1982) *Camilla: Amazzone e sacerdotessa di Diana*, Milan,
 — (ed.) *(1985) *Le donne in Grecia*, Rome.
 Barrett, W.S. (1954) 'Bacchylides, Asine and Apollo Pythaieus', *Hermes*
 82, 421–44

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Beard, Mary (1980) 'The sexual status of Vestal Virgins', *JRS* 70, 12–27.
- Bechtel, F. (1917) *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, Halle, repr. Hildesheim, 1964.
- Benveniste, E. (1949) 'La Légende des Danaïdes', *RHR* 136, 129–38.
- Bethe, E. (1891) *Thebanische Heldenlieder: Untersuchungen über die Epen des Thebanisch-Argivischen Sagenkreises*, Leipzig.
- (1901) 'Homer und die Heldensage: die Sage vom Troische Kriege', *NJA* 7, 657–76.
- Bickerman, E.J. (1980) *Chronology of the Ancient World*, 2nd edn, London.
- Bischoff, E.F. (1919) 'Kalender (griechischer)', *RE* X, 1568–1602.
- Boardman, J. (1980) *The Greeks Overseas: Their Early Colonies and Trade*, 2nd edn, London.
- Bolton, J.D.P. (1962) *Aristeas of Proconnesus*, Oxford.
- Bonner, C. (1902) 'A study of the Danaid myth', *HSPH* 13, 129–73.
- Bowra, C.M. (1964) *Pindar*, Oxford.
- Brellich, A. (1958) *Gli eroi greci: un problema storico-religioso*, Rome.
- (1969) *Paides e Parthenoi (Incunabula Graeca, 36)*, Rome.
- Bremmer, J.N. (1978) 'Heroes, rituals and the Trojan War', *SSR* 2, 5–38.
- (1982) 'The suodales of Poplios Valesios', *ZPE* 47, 133–47.
- (1983) 'The role of the temple in Greek initiatory ritual', *Actes du VII^e congrès de la F.I.E.C.*, 1, Budapest, 121–4.
- (1983b) *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul*, Princeton.
- (1984) 'Greek Maenadism reconsidered', *ZPE* 55, 267–86.
- (ed.) (1987) *Interpretations of Greek Mythology*, London and Sydney.
- (1987b) "'Effigies Dei" in Ancient Greece: Poseidon', D. van der Plas (ed.), *Effigies Dei: Essays on the History of Religions* (Studies in the History of Religions: *Numen*, Suppl. LI), Leiden, 35–41.
- and Horsfall, N.M. (1987) *Roman Myth and Mythography (BICS, Suppl. 52)*, London.
- Briquel, D. (1982) 'Initiations grecques et idéologie indo-européenne', *Annales (ESC)* 37, 454–61.
- Brouskari, M. (1980) 'A Dark Age cemetery in Erechtheion Street, Athens', *BSA* 75, 13–31.
- Bubbe, W. (1913) *de Metamorphosis Graecorum capita selecta*, diss., Halle.
- Buck, C.D. (1955) *The Greek Dialects*, 2nd edn, Chicago.
- Burkert, W. (1962) 'TOHΣ. Zum griechischen "Schamanismus"', *RhM* 105, 36–55.
- (1966) 'Kekropidensage und Arrhephoria: vom Initiationsritus zum Panathenäenfest', *Hermes* 94, 1–25.
- (1970) 'Jason, Hypsipyle, and new fire at Lemnos', *CQ*, n.s. 20, 1–16.
- (1972) *Homo Necans: Interpretationen altgriechischer Opferriten und Mythen*, Berlin (= *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*, transl. P. Bing, Berkeley, 1983).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- (1977) *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Die Religionen der Menschheit, 15), Stuttgart (= *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical*, transl. J. Raffan, Oxford, 1985).
- (1979) *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*, Berkeley.
- (1984) *Die orientalisierende Epoche in der griechischen Religion* (SB Heidelberg 1984) Abh. 1, Heidelberg.
- Burton, A. (1972) *Diodorus Siculus: Book I: A Commentary* (EPRO 29), Leiden.
- Busolt, G. (1893) *Griechische Geschichte* I, 2nd edn, Gotha.
- Calame, C. (1977) *Les Choeurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque*, vol. I: *Morphologie, fonction religieuse et sociale*, Rome.
- Cantarella, Eva (1987) *Pandora's Daughters: The Role and Status of Women in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, Baltimore and London.
- Carpenter, Rhys (1946) *Folk Tale, Fiction and Saga in the Homeric Epics* (Sather Classical Lectures, 20), Berkeley.
- Cauer, P. (1909) *Grundfragen der Homerkritik*, 2nd edn, Leipzig.
- Clement, P. (1934) 'New evidence for the origin of the Iphigeneia legend', *AC* 3, 393–409.
- Coldstream, J.N. (1977) *Geometric Greece*, London.
- Cole, S.G. (1984) 'The social function of rituals of maturation: the Koureion and the Arkteia', *ZPE* 55, 233–44.
- Cook, A.B. (1914–40) *Zeus: A study in ancient religion*, 3 vols in 5, Cambridge.
- Cook, J.M. (1953) 'Mycenae 1939–1952. Part III: The Agamemnoneion', *ABSA* 48, 30–68.
- Craik, E.M. (1980) *The Dorian Aegean*, London.
- (1982) 'Homer's Dorians', *LCM* 7.7 (July), 94–101.
- Crawley, A.E. (1893) 'Achilles at Skyros', *CR* 7, 243–6.
- Crusius, O. (1905) 'Sagenverschiebungen', *SBAW*, 749–802.
- Dawkins, R.M. (1904) 'A visit to Skyros', *ABSA* 11, 72–80.
- Desborough, V.R. (1948) 'What is Protogeometric?', *ABSA* 43, 260–71.
- (1964) *The Last Mycenaeans and their Successors: an archaeological survey c.1200–c.1000 BC*, Oxford.
- Detienne, M. (1979) *Dionysos Slain*, transl. M. and L. Muellner, Baltimore and London.
- Deubner, L. (1932) *Attische Feste*, Berlin, repr. Hildesheim, 1969.
- Dodds, E.R. (1951) *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Berkeley.
- Drews, R. (1979) 'Argos and Argives in the *Iliad*', *CPh* 74, 111–35.
- Duemmler, F. (1901) 'Hektor', *Kleine Schriften* ii, Leipzig, 204–9 (= F. Studniczka, *Kyrene*, Leipzig, 1890, Anhang II, 194–205).
- Eitrem, S. (1915) *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer*, Kristiana, repr. Hildesheim, 1977.
- Eliade, M. (1959) *Initiation, rites, sociétés secrètes: Naissances mystiques: Essai sur quelques types d'initiation*, Paris.
- (1964) *Traité d'histoire des religions*, Paris.
- (1965) *Le Sacré et le profane*, Paris.
- (1972) *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, transl. W.R. Trask, Princeton.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Erdmann, W. (1934) *Die Ehe im alten Griechenland* (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte, 20), Munich.
- Farnell, L.R. *(1896–1909) *The Cults of the Greek States*, 5 vols, Oxford.
- (1921) *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality*, Oxford.
- Faure, P. *(1964) *Fonctions des cavernes crétoises* (Ecole française d'Athènes: travaux et mémoires, fasc. xiv), Paris.
- (1969) 'Aux sources de la légende des Danaïdes', résumé in *REG* 82, xxvi–xxviii.
- Fehrle, E. (1910) *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum* (RGVV 6), Giessen, repr. Berlin, 1966.
- Foley, H.P. (1982) 'Marriage and sacrifice in Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Aulis*', *Arethusa* 15, 159–77.
- Fontenrose, J. (1950) *Python: A Study of Delphic Myth and its Origins*, Berkeley.
- Fraenkel, E. (1950) *Aeschylus: Agamemnon*, 3 vols, Oxford.
- Franz, R. (1890) 'De Callistus fabula', *Leipz. St.* 12, 235–365.
- Frazer, Sir J.G. (1897–8) *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, 6 vols, London.
- (1921) *Apollodorus: The Library* (Loeb Classical Library), 2 vols, London.
- (1914) *The Golden Bough. Part III: The Dying God*, London.
- Friedlaender, P. (1905) *Argolica: Quaestiones ad Graecorum historiam fabulare pertinentes, Cap. I–III*, diss., Berlin.
- Garlan, Y. (1975) *War in the Ancient World*, transl. J. Lloyd, London.
- Garvie, A.F. (1969) *Aeschylus' Supplikes: Play and Trilogy*, Cambridge.
- Gordon, R.L. (1981) *Myth, Religion and Society: Structuralist Essays by M. Detienne, L. Gernet, J.-P. Vernant and P. Vidal-Naquet*, Cambridge.
- Graf, Fr. (1974) *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (RGVV 33), Berlin.
- (1979) 'Apollon Delphinios', *MH* 36, 2–22.
- (1984) 'Women, war, and warlike divinities', *ZPE* 55, 245–54.
- *(1985) *Nordionische Kulte: Religionsgeschichtliche und epigraphische Untersuchungen zu den Kulturen von Chios, Erythrai, Klazomenai und Phokaia*, Rome.
- (1985b) *Griechische Mythologie: eine Einführung* (Artemis Einführungen, 16), Munich/Zürich.
- Grégoire, H. (1942) *Euripide* (Collection Budé), vol. 4, Paris.
- Griffin, A. (1982) *Sikyon*, Oxford.
- Gruppe, O. (1906) *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, 2 vols, Munich, repr. New York, 1975.
- Gurney, O. (1952) *The Hittites*, Harmondsworth.
- Hack, R.K. (1929) 'Homer and the cult of heroes', *TAPA* 60, 57–74.
- Hadzisteliou Price, Th. (1978) *Kourotrophos: Cults and Representations of the Greek Nursing Deities* (Studies of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society, vol. VIII), Leiden.
- Halliday, W.R. (1909) 'A note on Herodotus VI.83, and the Hybristika', *ABSA* 16, 212–19.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- (1928) *The Greek Questions of Plutarch*, Oxford.
- Hammond, N.G.L. (1976) *Migrations and Invasions in Greece and Adjacent Areas*, Park Ridge, New Jersey.
- Harrison, J.E. (1912) *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion*, Cambridge.
- Henrichs, A. (1974) 'Die Proitiden im hesiodischen Katalog', *ZPE* 15, 297–304.
- (1981) 'Human sacrifice in Greek religion: three case studies', *Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique (Fondation Hardt)*, 27: *Le Sacrifice dans l'Antiquité*, Genève, pp. 195–235, discussion pp. 236–42.
- Heubeck, A. (1987) 'Zum Namen der Ἰωνες', *MSS* 48, 139–48.
- (1987b) 'Ἰόλαος und Verwandtes', *MSS* 48 149–66.
- Hollinshead, M.B.B. (1979) *Legend, Cult, and Architecture at Three Sanctuaries of Artemis*, Diss., Bryn Mawr, résumé in *DA* 40/10 (1980), 5542.
- Hommel, H. (1972) 'Vesta und die frühromische Religion', *ANRW* I 2, 397–420.
- (1981) *Ахилл-бог*, *VDI* 155, 53–76 (= 'Der Gott Achilleus', *SB Heidelberg* 1980 Abh. 1).
- Hope Simpson, R. and Lazenby, J.F. (1970) *The Catalogue of the Ships in Homer's Iliad*, Oxford.
- Hulton, A.O. (1962) 'Euripides and the Iphigenia legend', *Mnemosyne* 15, 364–8.
- Immerwahr, W. (1891) *Die Kulte und Mythen Arkadiens*, I 'Die arkadischen Kulte', Leipzig.
- Jacoby, F. (1922) 'ἸΩ ΚΑΛΛΙΘΥΕΣΣΑ', *Hermes* 57, 366–74.
- (1947) 'The first Athenian prose writer', *Mnemosyne* 13, 13–64.
- James, E.O. (1960) *The Ancient Gods: The History and Diffusion of Religion in the Ancient Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean*, London.
- Jeanmaire, H. (1939) *Couroi et Courètes: Essai sur l'éducation spartiate et sur les rites d'adolescence dans l'antiquité hellénique*, Lille.
- (1951) *Dionysos: Histoire du culte de Bacchus*, Paris, repr. 1970.
- Jouan, F. (1966) *Euripide et les légendes des Chants Cypriens*, Paris.
- Kahil, Lilly G. (1965) 'Autour de l'Artémis attique', *AK* 8, 20–33.
- (1977) 'L'Artémis de Brauron: rites et mystère', *AK* 20, 86–98.
- (1981) 'Le "Cratérisque" d' Artémis et le Brauronion de l'acropole', *Hesperia* 50, 253–63.
- Kakridis, J.Th. (1949) *Homeric Researches*, Lund.
- Kelly, Th. (1976) *A History of Argos to 500 BC*, Minneapolis.
- Kerényi, C. (1976) *Dionysos: Archetypal Image of Indestructible Life*, transl. R. Manheim, Princeton and London.
- Kern, O. (1904) 'Die Landschaft Thessalien und die Geschichte Griechenlands', *NJA* 13, 12–22.
- (1922) *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, Berlin, repr. 1963.
- Kinkel, G. (1877) *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, vol. 1, Leipzig.
- Kirk, G.S. (1970) *Myth: Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures*, Cambridge.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Kitagawa, J.M. and Long, C.H. (eds) (1969) *Myths and Symbols: Studies in Honour of Mircea Eliade*, Chicago.
- Kjellberg, L. (1916) 'Iphigeneia', *RE* IX.2, 2588–2622.
- Kondis, J.D. (1967) 'Artemis Brauronia', *AD* 22, 156–206.
- Kretschmer, P. (1920) 'Mythische Namen: 7. "Ἀργεῖφόντης"', *Glotta* 10, 45–9.
- (1936) 'Nochmals die Hypachäer und Alaksandus', *Glotta* 24, 203–51.
- Kullmann, W. (1960) *Die Quellen der Ilias (Troischer Sagenkreis)* (*Hermes*, Einzelschrift 14), Wiesbaden.
- La Fontaine, J.S. (1985) *Initiation*, Harmondsworth.
- Leaf, W. (1915) *Homer and History*, London.
- Leekley, D. and Noyes, R. (1976) *Archaeological Excavations in Southern Greece*, Park Ridge, New Jersey.
- Lincoln, B. (1981) *Emerging from the Chrysalis: Studies in Rituals of Women's Initiation*, Cambridge Mass. and London.
- Lloyd-Jones, P.H.J. (1983) 'Artemis and Iphigeneia', *JHS* 103, 87–102.
- Löffler, I. (1963) *Die Melampodie: Versuch einer Rekonstruktion des Inhalts* (Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie 7), Meisenheim.
- Loraux, N. (1985) *Façons tragiques de tuer une femme*, Paris.
- Macdonald, C. (1986) 'Problems of the twelfth century BC in the Dodecanese', *ABSA* 81, 125–51.
- McDonald, W.A. and Hope Simpson, R. (1961) 'Prehistoric habitation in southwestern Peloponnese', *AJA* 65, 221–60.
- McGregor, M.F. (1941) 'Cleisthenes of Sicyon and the panhellenic festivals', *TAPA* 72, 266–87.
- Maehler, H. (1968) *Bakchylides: Lieder und Fragmente*, Berlin.
- (1982) *Die Lieder des Bakchylides* (*Mnem. Suppl.* 62), I.ii, Leiden.
- Malkin, I. (1987) *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*, Leiden.
- Marinatos, S. (1960) *Crete and Mycenae*, London.
- Massenzio, M. (1968) 'La festa di Artemis Triklaria e Dionysos Aisymnetes a Patrai', *SMSR* 39, 101–32.
- (1970) *Cultura e crisi permanente: la 'xenia' dionisiaca* (Quaderni di *SMSR* 6), Rome.
- Mee, C. (1982) *Rhodes in the Bronze Age: an archaeological survey*, Warminster.
- Meineke, A. (1852) *Vindiciarum Straboniarum Liber*, Berlin, repr. Graz, 1972.
- Melas, E. (ed.) (1973) *Temples and Sanctuaries of Ancient Greece: A Companion Guide*, London.
- Meyer, E. (1892) *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte* vol.1: *Zur älteren griechischen Geschichte*, Halle, repr. Hildesheim, 1966.
- Mommsen, A. (1898) *Fest der Stadt Athen im Altertum*, Leipzig. (= 'Umarbeitung der 1864 erschienenen Heortologie').
- Nilsson, M.P. (1906) *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschluss der attischen*, Berlin.
- (1918) *Die Entstehung und religiöse Bedeutung des griechischen Kalenders* (Lunds Universitets Årsskrift n.f. 1.14.21), Lund.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- (1932) *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* (Sather Classical Lectures, 8), Berkeley, repr. 1972.
- * (1967) *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, V.2.1), 3rd edn, vol.1, Munich.
- Otto, W.F. (1965) *Dionysus: Myth and Cult*, transl. R.B. Palmer, Indiana.
- Page, D.L. (1959) *History and the Homeric Iliad* (Sather Classical Lectures, 31), Berkeley.
- Palmer, L.R. (1956) 'Notes on the personnel of the O-KA Tablets (Pylos 1952)', *Eranos* 54, 1–13.
- * (1980) *The Greek Language*, London.
- Papathomopoulos, P. (1968) *Antoninus Liberalis: Les Métamorphoses* (Collection Budé), Paris.
- Pape, W. and Benseler, G. (1911) *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, 3rd edn, Braunschweig, repr. Graz, 1959.
- Parke, H.W. (1977) *Festivals of the Athenians*, London.
- Parker, R. (1983) *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion*, Oxford.
- Pearson, L. (1939) *Early Ionian Historians*, Oxford.
- Perpillou, J.-L. (1973) *Les Substantifs grecs en -εύς*, Paris.
- Pestalozza, U. (1933) 'Sacerdoti e sacerdotesse impuberi nei culti di Athena e di Artemide', *SMSR* 9, 173–202.
- Pfeiffer, R. (1937) 'Hesiodisches und Homerisches', *Philologus* 92, 1–18.
- Pfister, Fr. (1909, 1912) *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum* (RGVV, 5/1 and 5/2), 2 vols., Giessen.
- Philippson, P. (1944) *Thessalische Mythologie*, Zürich.
- Piccaluga, G. (1968) *Lykaon: un tema mitico* (Quaderni di SMSR 5), Rome.
- Pley, J. (1931) 'Melampus', *RE* XV.1, 392–9.
- Preller, L. and Robert, C. (1894) *Griechische Mythologie*, vol.1 (for vol.2 see Robert), 4th edn, Berlin.
- Prinz, F. (1979) *Gründungsmythen und Sagenchronologie* (Zetemata, 72), Munich.
- Przyluski, J. (1940) 'Les Confréries de loups-garous dans les sociétés indo-européennes', *RHR* 121, (1940) 128–45.
- Puhvel, J. (1987) *Comparative Mythology*, Baltimore.
- Radke, G. (1987) *Zur Entwicklung der Gottesvorstellung und der Gottesverehrung in Rom* (Impulse der Forschung, 50), Darmstadt.
- Reinach, S. (1915) 'Observations sur le mythe d'Iphigénie', *REG* 28, 1–15.
- Robert, C. (1901) *Studien zur Ilias*, Berlin.
- (1917) 'Η ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΠΑΡΑ ΦΕΡΕΚΥΔΗΙ', *Hermes* 52, 308–13.
- * (1920–6) *Die griechische Heldensage* (= L. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, vol.2: *Die Heroen*, 4th edn), Berlin.
- Rohde, E. (1910) *Psyche: Seelenkult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen*, 5th/6th edn, 2 vols., Tübingen (= *Psyche: The Cult of Souls and Belief in Immortality among the Greeks*, transl. W.B. Hillis, London, 1920, repr. New York, 1972).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Roller, D.W. (1974) 'A new map of Tanagra', *AJA* 78, 152–6.
- (1979) 'Tanagran mythology: a localised system', *Teiresias*, Suppl. 2, 45–7.
- Roussel, P. (1915) 'Le Rôle d'Achille dans l'*Iphigénie à Aulis*', *REG* 28, 234–50.
- Rutkowski, B. (1986) *The Cult Places of the Aegean*, New Haven and London.
- Sakellariou, M.B. (1974) 'Linguistic and ethnic groups in prehistoric Greece', in Christopoulos, G.A. and Bastias, J.C. (eds.), *Prehistory and Protohistory*, Athens, 364–89.
- Sale, W. (1962) 'The story of Callisto in Hesiod', *RhM* 105, 122–41.
- (1965) 'Callisto and the virginity of Artemis', *RhM* 108, 11–35.
- (1975) 'The temple-legends of the Arkteia', *RhM* 118, 265–84.
- Salmon, J.B. (1984) *Wealthy Corinth: A History of the City to 338 B.C.*, Oxford.
- Samuel, A.E. (1972) *Greek and Roman Chronology*, Munich.
- Schachter, A. *(1981) *Cults of Boiotia*, vol.1: *Acheloo to Hera* (BICS, Suppl. 38.1), London.
- (1986) *Cults of Boiotia*, vol.2: *Herakles to Poseidon* (BICS, Suppl. 38.2), London.
- Schadewaldt, W. (1951) *Von Homer's Welt und Werk*, 2nd edn, Stuttgart.
- Schefold, K. (1978) *Götter- und Heldensagen der Griechen in der spätarchaischen Kunst*, Munich.
- Schmitt, P. (1977) 'Athéna Apatouria et la ceinture: les aspects féminins des Apatouries à Athènes', *Annales (ESC)* 32 1059–73.
- Schwartz, J. (1960) *Pseudo-Hesiodica: Recherches sur la composition, la diffusion et la disparition ancienne d'oeuvres attribuées à Hésiode*, Leiden.
- Schwyzler, E. (1923) *Dialectorum graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora*, 3rd edn, Leipzig, repr. Hildesheim 1960.
- Séchan, L. (1931) 'Le Sacrifice d'Iphigénie', *REG* 44, 368–426.
- Sergent, B. (1986) 'Pylos et les enfers', *RHR* 203, 5–39.
- Severyns, A. (1928) *Le Cycle épique dans l'école d'Aristarque* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fasc. XL), Liège and Paris, repr. Paris 1967.
- *(1933) *Bacchylide: Essai biographique* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fasc. LVI), Liège and Paris.
- Simon, E. (1983) *Festivals of Attica: an Archaeological Commentary*, Madison, Wisconsin.
- Sissa, G. (1984) 'Une virginité sans hymen: le corps féminin en Grèce ancienne', *Annales (ESC)* 39, 1119–39.
- Smith, W. (ed.) (1857) *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, vol.2, London.
- Snodgrass, A.M. (1971) *The Dark Age of Greece: an Archaeological Survey of the Eleventh to the Eighth Centuries BC*, Edinburgh.
- Solmsen, Fr. (1981) 'The sacrifice of Agamemnon's daughter in Hesiod's

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ehoeae*, *AJPh* 102, 353-8.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, C. (1971) 'Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 641-647', *CQ* n.s. 21, 339-42.
- (1985) 'Altars with palm-trees, palm-trees and *parthenoi*', *BICS* 32, 125-46.
- Stengel, P. (1920) *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, V.3), 3rd edn, Munich.
- Stinton, T.C.W. (1976) 'Iphigeneia and the Bears of Brauron', *CQ* n.s. 26, 11-13.
- Thomson, G. (1973) *Aeschylus and Athens*, 4th edn, London.
- (1978) *The Prehistoric Aegean*, 3rd edn, London.
- Thomson, J.A.K. (1914) *Studies in the Odyssey*, Oxford.
- Tomlinson, R.A. (1972) *Argos and the Argolid: from the End of the Bronze Age to the Roman Occupation*, London.
- Turner, V.W. (1967) *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*, Ithaca.
- Van Gennep, A. (1960) *The Rites of Passage*, transl. M.B. Vizedom and G.L. Caffee, London.
- Ventris, M. and Chadwick, J. (1973) *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 2nd edn, Cambridge.
- Vermeule, E. (1960) 'The Mycenaean in Achaia', *AJA* 64, 1-21.
- Vian, F. (1965) 'Mélampous et les Proitides', *REA* 67, 25-30.
- Vidal-Naquet, P. (1981) *Le Chasseur noir*, Paris.
- Walcot, P. (1979) 'Cattle raiding, heroic tradition, and ritual: the Greek evidence', *HR* 18, 326-51.
- Wehrli, F. (1967) 'Io, Dichtung und Kultlegende', *Gestalt und Geschichte: Festschrift Karl Schefold* (= *AK*, Beiheft 4 (1967)), Bern, 196-9.
- Wernicke, C. (1896) 'Arkteia, arktoi', *RE* II, 1170-2.
- West, M.L. (1983) *The Orphic Poems*, Oxford.
- (1985) *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women: Its Nature, Structure, and Origins*, Oxford.
- Wide, S. (1893) *Lakonische Kulte*, Leipzig, repr. Darmstadt, 1973.
- Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, U. von (1883) 'Die Beiden Elekten', Excursus 'Iphigeneia', *Hermes* 18, 249-63.
- (1916) *Die Ilias und Homer*, Berlin.
- (1955) *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, 2nd edn, 2 vols., Basle.
- Willcock, M.M. (1976) *A Companion to the Iliad*, Chicago.
- Wright, J.C. (1982) 'The old temple terrace at the Argive Heraeum and the early cult of Hera in the Argolid', *JHS* 102, 186-201.
- Zeitlin, F.I. (1982) 'Cultic models of the female: rites of Dionysus and Demeter', *Arethusa* 15, 129-57.

NAME INDEX

- For festivals *see* the divinity or the location.
- Note that transliteration of Greek is mainly non-Latinate, so look under K- not C- and expect ai, oi and -os not ae, oe and -us.

- Abas, Abantes 156, 162
 Abaris 106, 107
 Abraham and Isaac 36
 Achilleion 55–9, 107
 Achilles ch.3, 114, 123, 194–6; and
 Cheiron 12, 50, 55; and
 Iphigeneia/Agamemnon 10, 12f.,
 18f., 49
 Admetos (Pherai) 64
 Adrastus (Argos, Sikyon) 71, 93, 112,
 137
 Aeneas (Troy) 38
 Aeolic Greeks 41f., 54–8, 66f., 69,
 83f., 168, 173f., 194f.
 Agamemnon: Aulis 4f., 9–17, 34, 47;
 Brauron 22f.; Megara 19f., 43;
 Mycenae/Argos 14, 73, 111f., 120,
 164, 206 n.6; elsewhere 13f.
 Aigeira (Achaia) 20
 Aigosthena (Megarid) 107f.
 Aigyplos *see* Egypt
 Akrisios (twin of Proitos) 73, 112, 120,
 154
 Akroi (Argolid) *see* Artemis
 Alexander the Great 56, 63
 Alkathoös (Megara) 1, 3, 14, 63, 86
 Alpheios, R. 58, 66, 98, 100, 102–4,
 123, 160, 171, 175, 202
 Amasis (Pharaoh) 149f.
 Amazons 62, 150
 Amphiaros (seer) 102, 112, 156, 162
 Amphilochos (seer) 112
 Amyklai: Agamemnon and Alexandra
 14; Daphne 174–6; Hyakinthos 45
 Amymone (Danaid) *see* Nauplion
 Amythaon, Amythaonia 101f., 109,
 194
 Anaxagoras (king, Argos) 75, 80f.,
 111f.
 Andromache 50f.
 Anigros, R. 58, 78, 92f., 102, 104, 123,
 160
 Anthia (Xenophon of Ephesos) 40f.,
 46, 86, 200
 Antiope (Thebes) 182, 202
 Aones (Boiotia) 168, 194
 Apheidas (Arcadia) 94, 192
 Aphrodite: Argos (warrior) 103; Elis
 102; Sikyon 130
 Apollo: Amyklai ('Hyakinthos') 45,
 199; Antioch ('Daphnaios') 175;
 Argos ('Lykeios') 148, 156; Athens
 69; Aulis 38; Boiotia ('Ptoios') 45;
 Delphi, Pythia at 132, Python 126;
 Elis and Arcadia 175; Megara 86;
 Pagasai 51; Prasiai, Attica 69;
 Sikyon 72, 87, 93; Thebes
 ('Ismenios') 121, 131, 139, 175; Troy
 ('Thymbraios') 61; and Achilles 61f.,
 68; and Aeneas 38; and Daphne/
 Leukippos 66, 174–9; and Hermes
 138; and Melampous 100f., 109;
 herdsman 140; *kouros* 68
 Apollodoros' mistakes 76, 218 n.2, 234
 n.26
 Arcadia 191f.

NAME INDEX

- Argonauts 17, 58
 Argos (Argolid) ch.7 *passim*; meaning of 72f., 122, 128f., 225 n.12; archaeology 128, 147; cultural imperialism 73, 76, 93, 111f., 120, 124, 128, 137, 204; Daulis 218 n.6; Haliaia 140; Iphigeneia, Eileithyia 20; Women of 74–87, 111, 113
 Argos (I, eponym) 118–21
 Argos (II, 'All-seeing') 118, 121, 124–6, 135–44
 Argos (Thessaly) 72
 Aristodemos (king, Messenia) 24, 68, 195
 Aristokrates (king, Arcadia) 132
 Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* (l.645) 21, 27–9, 31, 47
 Arkas (Arcadia) 121, 127, 148, 182–91
 Artemis 198
 Places: Aigeira 20, 130f.; Akroi and Oinoë, Argolid 72, 78, 81, 90, 93; Argos ('Peitho') 156; Athens 69, (Apatouria) 3, ('Aristoboule') 27, (Brauronion etc.) 27; Attica (Arkteia) 22f., 27, 33f.; Aulis (*Nebeia) 4, ch.2 *passim*, 68, 136; Brauron (Arkteia) 4, 17, 20–47, 68, 89f., 130f., 136, 161, 188f., 194, 197; Delos 2, 31, 42; Elis (region) 102; Ephesos 40f., 62, 150; Halai (Tauropolia) 18, 27, 33f., 37, 134, 200, 202; Hermione ('Iphigeneia') 20, 45; Krathis, Mount ('Pyrrhonia') 162, 164, 202; Larisa ('Throsia') 41; Ladrinoi ('Alpheiousa') 102–5, 178; Lousoi ('Hemera') 72, 74f., 78, 89–94, 106, 135f., 171, 194; Mainalos ('Kalliste') 184; Megara 4, 19f., 86; Melite, Phthia ('Aspalis') 45, 167f.; Mounichia 20–47 *passim*, 136; Naupaktos ('Laphria') 174; Oinoë 72, 164; Olympia 103, 178; Orchomenos, Arcadia ('Hymnia') 132; Pagasai 41; Patrai ('Triklaria') 130, 169–73, 200, ('Laphria') 170, 173f.; Plataia ('Eukleia') 167; Styμφalos 180f.; Tanagra ('Aulideia') 26, 42, 68; Troezen ('Lykeia') 139f.
 Titles: Daphnaia 178; Einodia ('Roadside') 11, 18; Elaphebolos 42; Locheia 18; Oupis 45;
 Tauropolos 18, 26, 38
 Associations: human sacrifice 35; hysteria 89; and Kallisto 185–90; nymphs 62, 102–5; spring and tree 25, 31
 Asine (Argolid) 111
 Asopos, R. 121
 Aspalis (Phthia) 167f.
 Atalante (Arcadia, Boiotia) 24, 86, 113, 122, 158, 161, 183, 191
 Athene 151, 199; Athens (Arrhaphoria) 26, 28–32, 37, 39, 130f., 134, 151, 197–9, (Panathenaia) 30; Elateia ('Kranaia') 131; Lindos, Rhodes 149–51; Tegea ('Alea') 131, 126; Troizen ('Apatouria') 39
 Athens 68f., 194; Apatouria 3, 69, 199, 201; Bouphonia 136; Heliia 140; stones 139f.; *see also* Artemis, Erechtheus, Theseus
 Atreus 117
 Auge (Tegea) 114, 133, 151, 183, 197, 202
 Aulis: Aeolic port 56; archaeology 25, 38; *see also* Artemis
 Azan, Azania, Azenia 192
 Bacchylides' exile 73
 Balovale, the (Zambia) 29
 Belos 149
 Bellerophon 64, 72, 126
 Bias (brother of Melampous) 72, 74f., 80, 86, 99, 109, 111–13
 Boiotia 55, 57, 59; influence in: Lakonia 57, Argos 121, Arcadia 183, 191f.
 Brahmans 102
 Brasiai *see* Prax
 Brauron: archaeology 25–32, 38; Iphigeneia myth 4, 17f., 22f.; *see also* Artemis
 Byzantion 57
 Camilla 196
 Caria 64, 122
 Centaurs 50, 65
 Chaironeia (Boiotia): 'Shaft' 14, 206 n.6; Agrionia 81
 Chalcedon (Bosporos) 16
 Chalcis (Euboia) 59
 Cheiron 12, 50, 53, 55, 216 n.26
 Chios *see* Dionysos

NAME INDEX

- Chryseis (priestess) 133, 198
 Corinth 93; and Ephyre 71; daughters of Klytias 158; children of Medea 159, 200
 Cyclic Epic 10, 11, 13
- Danaë (mother of Perseus) 149
 Danaids 73, 82, 127, ch.7, 194, 200, 203
 Danaos, Danaoi 72, 126f., 140, 143, ch.7 esp. 147–9, 162, 194, 196
 Daphne 66, 171, 174–9, 200
 Delos: Artemis' birth 31; Artemisia 42; Hekaërgē and Opis 2, 45
 Delphi 139, 172; *see also* Apollo, Dionysos
 Demeter 198f.; Athens and elsewhere (Thesmophoria) 39, 46, 81, 163f., 201; Lerna ('Prosymne') 152, 160f.; Megalopolis ('in the Marsh') 160
 Diomedes 111, 164
 Dionysos 199; Argos (Agriania) 75, 81, 120; Athens 145; Boiotia (Agrionia) 61, 81–4, 89, 172, 196, 200, 202; Chios ('Omadios') 83f.; Delphi 81; Lerna 152, 160; Lousoi 78; Patrai ('Aisymnetes') 169–73, ('Kalydonios') 173f.; Sikyon (Agriania) 85, 107; Sparta 84; Tanagra (Nyktelia) 59–61; Tenedos ('Omadios') 83f., 136; as ox at Argos and Elis 84, 88; Melampous writes about 106; Satyrs 102; tree-cult 119
 Dolops, Dolopes 53–5, 59, 65, 194
 Dorians 35, 93, 108
- Egypt, Aigyptos, Egyptians 113
 Eileithyia (Argos) 20
 Eleusis: archaeology 129; mysteries 26, 31, 194, 199; Pan and Nymphs 45
 Eleutherios, R. (Heraion) 135, 171
 Elis (city): mourning Achilles 57f., 67; *see also* Dionysos, Hera
 Elis (region) 57f., 98
 Embaros 21–4, 34f., 37f., 43, 104, 129f., 142f., 168
 Enarsphoros 14
 Endymion 158
 Epaphos (son of Io) 127, 142–4, 191, 229 n.53
 Ephesos: Agamemnon 14; Artemis 40f.; Poseidon 37
 Ephippos (Tanagra) 59f., 63
- Ephyre 71, 217 n.5
 Erechtheus (Athens), Erechtheids 72f., 82, 148, 150, 195
 Erythrai 56
 Eteokles 139
 Euboia (island) 124, 162
 Euboia, Mount 124
 Eurypylos (Kyrene) 63, 71
 Eurypylos (Patrai) 169–73
- Gisu, the (Uganda) 30
 Gortyn 30, 67
 Graces, the 139
 Gyrtion (Magnesia) *see* Kaineus
 Gythion 140
- Halai 69; archaeology 33f., 38; *see also* Artemis
 Hekaërgē *see* Delos
 Hektor (Thebes, 'Troy') 51–3, 114
 Helen: and Achilles 19; Iphigeneia's mother 20; seizure of 14
 Hemithea *see* Tenedos
 Hera 198; Argolid 118, 120, 124, 128f.; Elis 31, 161, 194, 199; Falerii, Etruria 134f.; Sikyon 72; Sparta and Mycenae 129; Stymphalos 181; Tiryns ch.4 *passim*, 118–21, 128f., 133; cow-faced 88, 143, 198; and Herakles 136; and Io 124–7; and Kallisto 185, 187
 Heraion, 'Argive' ch.6 *passim*; Mycenae's 127–9; priestess 32, 198, 202
 Herakles: Thisbe and Thespiiai ('Charops') 132, 139; various labours 136–8, 151, 179–81
 Hermes 99, 125f., 135–44, 184f., 200, 229 n.51
 Hermione (Argolid) *see* Artemis (Iphigeneia)
 Hippo *see* Artemis (Ephesos)
 Hippodameia (Olympia) 158, 161
 Hippolytos (Troizen) 2, 114
 Homer: Aeneas' seclusion 38; and 'Argos' 72f.; Danaoi 148; 'does not know' 11f.; Embassy a replay 55; mourning of Achilles 58; Pylos in 97f.
 Hylleis (Spartan tribe) 101
 Hypermetra (Danaid) 154–7, 160, 162–4, 190
 Hyrië (Boiotia) 182

NAME INDEX

- Iasos, *Iasoi 86, 118, 121f., 129, 161, 164, 194
 Ilia (= Rhea Silvia) 197
 Ilos (Troy) 148, 158
 Inachos, R. 118, 120f., 123f., 150
 Indo-European mythology/ritual 90, 99, 132, 158, 181, 195–8, 202f.; *see also* myths (origins)
 Io (Heraion) 32, 88, 114, ch.6, 149, 160, 187, 190, 196f.
 Iolkos 50, 58, 98f.
 Ionia 56, 101
 Ionic 55, 69, 169
 Iphi- 46, 54
 Iphianassa (d. Agamemnon) 9, 13
 Iphianassa (d. Proitos) 76f., 79, 95
 Iphianeira (d. Megapenthes) 75
 Iphigeneia ch.2, esp. 43–6, 62, 68, 104, 129f., 142f., 168, 187, 195, 200; *see also* Artemis (Aulis, Brauron), Megara, tombs
 Iphiklos (son of Phylakos) 109f.
 Iphimede 11, 206 n.2
 Iphinoë (Megara) *see* Megara
 Iphinoë (Sikyon and Proitid) *see* Sikyon
 Isis 127, 149, 163
 Ismene (nymph) 121
- Kadmos (Thebes) 71, 148; daughters 82
 Kaineus (Gyrton in Magnesia) 65–7, 153
 Kalchas 10–12, 16f., 19, 23
 Kallirhoë (Kalydon) 173f.
 Kallisto (Arcadia) 24, 46, 86, 121, 127, 153, 182–91, 195, 197, 202
 Kallithyia (d. Peirans) 118–20, 124, 128, 130
 Kalydon (Aitolia) 173f., 200
 Kambanji (among Ndembu) 36, 86
 Kanephoros 134f.
 Kassandra 12, 14
 Kekropids 82
 Keteus, Keteioi 183, 186, 194
 Kinyras (Cyprus) 158
 Klazomenai (Ionia): Agamemnon 14
 Kleisthenes of Sikyon 93, 137, 161
 Kleitor (Arcadia) 91, 175, 192
 Kleonai (Argolid) 137
 Klytias' daughters (Megara/Corinth) 158
 Komaitho *see* Artemis (Patrai)
- Koronids (near Orchomenos) 168
 Korybants 85
 Kos 168
 Kretinaion (near Ephesos) 64
 Kroton (S. Italy) 57f., 67
 Kyknos 51
 Kyllene, Mount (Arcadia) 99, 179, 182, 184, 192
 Kyme (Aeolid): Agamemnon 14
 Kyparissiai (Messenia) 98
 Kyrene 63, 149, 216 n.26
- Ladon, R. 174–6
 Lapiths (Thessaly) 17, 63, 65
 Larisa (Ionia) 56
 Ledrinoi/Letrinoi *see* Artemis
 Lemnos, Women of 162f.
 Lepreos (Triphylia) 98
 Lerna, grove of 151–3, 156, 159, 162f., 172, 180, 200
 Lesbos 56, 59, 63, 66
 Leto 38f., 65, 216 n.29
 Leuke (island) 18f., 215 n.24
 Leukippides 130, 199
 Leukippos 59–68, 114, 195f., 201; Magnesia (on the Maeander) 64, 66f.; Phaistos 65–7, 177; Pisa(tis) 66, 123, 169, 171, 174–9, 200; Tanagra 59–61, 67f., 140
 Lindos (Rhodes) *see* Athene
 Locrian maidens 130, 134, 199
 Lousoi *see* Artemis
 Lykaon, *Lykaones (Arcadia) 158, 182–6, 192, 194, 222 n.8
 Lykaon (Kyrene) 63
 Lykia 57, 64
 Lykosoura (Arkadia): Despoina 39, 192
 Lykourgos (king, Thrace) 84, 161
 Lynkeus (Argos) 155, 162f.
- Magnesia (on the Maeander) 56, 64, 66
 Magnesia (near Phaistos) 67
 Magnesia (Thessaly) *see* Cheiron, Kaineus, Peleus, Philoktetes
Mahābhārata 67, 102, 196
 Mainalos, Mount and city (Arcadia) 122, 184, 190
 Maira (d. Proitos) 94
 Marathon, bull 137
 Mars and Ilia 197
 Masai, the (Kenya) 3
 Medeia 19; children of 159, 200

NAME INDEX

- Megapenthes 72, 75, 84
 Megara: Alkathoia 86; Iphigeneia 4, 19f.; Iphinoë 1–3, 63, 66, 104, 134; Kalchas 16; musical stone 139; *see also* Apollo, Artemis
 Megisto (Kallisto alias) 184
 Meilichos, R. (Patrai) 169–71
 Melampodeon 107, 113
 Melampous 54, 72, 74–87, 91–3, ch.5, 123, 140–2, 160, 200
 Melanippos *see* Artemis (Patrai)
 Melanthos (*ephebeia* myth) 113
 Melite (Phthia) 167
 Merops, Merops 168f., 194
 Messenia: King Aristodemos 24, 68, 168; Limnai 208 n.27; not in Homer 98
 Metapontion (S. Italy) 64, 67, 73, 94
 Methydrion (Arcadia) 107, 192
 Miletos 56f., 214 n.14
 Minoan-Mycenaean religion 145
 Minyads 73, 82–4, 194f.
 Minyas, Minyai 17, 57f., 72, 98, 107, 192, 194, 214 n.15
 Minyeios, R. 58, 123
 Mopsos 16f.
 Mounichia *see* Artemis
 Mycenaë 14, 71–3, 117, 124–8, 136, 147, 164
 Myskellos of Rhypes 57
 Mytilene (Lesbos) 56

 Nauplia 143, 151–3, 159f., 164
 Navajo, the (USA) 43
 Nayar, the (India) 30
 Naxos 63, 67, 71
 Ndembu, the (Zambia) 36
 Neileus (Miletos) 214 n.14
 Neleus (Pylos) 71, 98f., 113, 214 n.14, 222 n.4
 Nemea 136f.
 Neoptolemos 13, 51, 53–5
 Nestor (Pylos) 97–9, 123
 Niobe (Argos) 120f.
 Nonakris (Arcadia) 184

 Odysseus 54, 65, 161
 Oinoë (Argolid) *see* Artemis
 Oinomaos (Olympia) 158
 Olympia, Olympiads, Olympic Games 31, 57, 101, 109, 136, 147, 158, 161
 Onkion 175
 Onomakritos 106

 Opis *see* Delos, Artemis (Oupis)
 Orchomenos (Arcadia) 58, 107, 132, 192
 Orchomenos (Boiotia) 57f., 122, 139, 168, 173, 195; Agrionia 82–4, 113f., 160
 Orchomenos (Thessaly) 58
 Orestes 51, 139f., 171
 Orion (Boiotia) 15, 168, 186
 Oropos (Attica) 1
 Orpheus 106, 107
 Orsilochē(ia) (Scythian deity) 18f.

 Pagasai (Thessaly): Apollo 51; Artemis 41
 Pamphylia 16
 Paris: Judgment of 12; and Helen 14; in Thessaly 51
 Patrai 130, 169–74, 200
 *Peirans/Peiren (Tiryns) 72, 118–20, 124, 128–30
 Pelasgians 148, 163, 172, 183, 191, 202
 Peleus 50
 Pelias (Iolkos) 50, 98
 Pelion (= Palion), Mount 50
 Pelops, *Pelops 14, 101, 117, 147, 158, 179, 194
 Peneios, R. 174–6
 Peneleos (Boiotian hero) 59
 Penelope 156, 161, 181
 Penthesilea (Amazon) 62, 200
 Pentheus (Thebes) 82–4
 Pero (d. Neleus) 99, 109
 Perseus (Mycenae) 112, 117, 149
 Phaistos (Crete) 65–7
 Pharai (Achaia) 139
 Pharsalos 50f.
 Pheidon of Argos 111, 136f., 147
 Pheneus (Arcadia) 192
 Pherai (Thessaly) 64, 66
 Philoktetes (Magnesia) 51
 Phorbas (Argos, Rhodes) 121
 Phoroneus (Argos) 117, 120, 124
 Phthia 50–3, 57, 167, 212 n.2
 Phylakos (Phylake) 99, 109, 140
 Pisa(tis) (Elis) *see* Leukippos
 Poimandros (Tanagra) 59–61, 140
 Polykrithos (Tanagra) 59f.
 Polyxena (Troy) 62, 68
 Poseidon 153; Ephesos 37; Gyrtion 65; Kalaureia, near Troizen 130; Kyrene 63; Lerna (Amymone) 151–3, ('Genesisios') 153; Miletos 214 n.14;

NAME INDEX

- Triphylia 98; Hippios (Minyan?) 107, 150, 192
 Prax, Prasiai/Brasiai 57, 69
 Priam 61f., 83, 158
 Priene 56
 Probus (grammarian) 94f.
 Proitids 15, 35, ch.4, 104, ch.6, 150, 171–3, 187f., 194f., 199f.
 Proitos (Tiryns) 14, 71–80, 87–95, 120, 148, 154
 Prosymna, Prosymnos (Argolid) 152
 Pygela 14
 Pylos (all) 71, 97–9, 175

 Rhesos (Amphipolis) 51
 Rhodes 42, 64, 121f., 149–51
 Rome: king sacral 101, 198; luperi 37; Vestal Virgins 131f., 197f., 202

 Samikon plain 92f.
 Scamander, R. (Boiotia, Troad) 53, 123
 Sigeion 56
 Sikyon 164; Iphinoë, Proitids 14, 63, 78–87, 93, 107, 134, 141, 158, 160, 181, 200; Leukippos 63, 67; *see also* Adrastos, Aphrodite, Apollo, Hera
 Siris (S. Italy) 65
 Sisypheos (Ephyre) 71
 Skyros 53–6, 59, 65, 67, 195
 Solon 194
 Soteiria (Patrai) 170–2
 Sparta: boys' initiations 37, 100, 134, 194; Hilaeira and Phoibe 130, 199; Zeus Agamemnon 14.
 Spercheios, R. 50, 53, 66, 121, 123, 200
 Stymphalos, Stymphalid 'Birds' (Arcadia) 179–81, 188, 192, 200
 Styx, R. (Arcadia) 184

 Tainaron, Cape 57
 Tanagra: Achilleion 58–61, 67f.; *see also* Artemis, Dionysos, Leukippos, Poimandros
 Tarentum 64, 67
 Tauroi, the (Scythia) 17f.
 Tegea: Apeidas 94, 192; Athene Alea 107
 Telephos 183, 206 n.2
 Telesilla (poetess) 103, 153, 194
 Temenos (Argos) 111, 181
 Temesa: Hero 233 n.12
 Tenedos: Tennes, Hemitheia 56, 61, 68; *see also* Dionysos
 Termilai *see* Trambelos
 Teuthras, Teuthrania (Mysia) 10, 183
 Thebe (under Plakos) 50f.
 Thebes (Boiotia) 182; Agrionia 82f.; Hektor 51–3; Kadmos 71; stones 139
 Thebes (Phthiotis) 51
 Thelpousa 175, 233 n.15
 Thersites 62
 Theseus: bones of 51; crane-dance 181; and Helen 14; initiatory 69; various feats 137, 158, 160
 Thespios, Thespiads 73, 82, 123, 132, 158, 190
 Thetis 50
 Thryoessa 98
 Thyiads *see* Dionysos (Delphi)
 Tiryns ch.4 *passim*, 136, 164; archaeology 87, 147; *see also* Hera
 Tlepolemos (Rhodes) 59, 122
 Trachis (Malis) 50, 121
 Trambelos, Termilai/Tremilai 56f.
 Tretos, Mount (Nemea) 136
 Triopas, Cape Tropic 121f.
 Triphylia 58, ch.5 *passim*, 195; Anigrid nymphs 92f.; *Pelopes 14
 Troad 56, 201
 Troilos 61, 68
 Troizen *see* Artemis, Hippolytos, Poseidon
 Trojan War 4f., 10, 16, 51, 55; avoiding it 59–61; Brauron and 22; Megara and 19f.
 Troy: Apollo 38, 61; Ilos 148, 158; Lokrian maidens 130, 134
 Tyrtaios (poet) 194

 Zeus: Aigion 131; Arcadia ('Lykaios') 35, 182, 185f., 192; Argos (Stheneia) 148; near Gythion ('Kappotas') 140; Sparta ('Agamemnon') 14; and Antiope 182; as bull 125; and Io 124–7, 141–4; and Kallisto 121, 185f., 190; and Niobe (Argos) 121

SUBJECT INDEX

- adyton 26, 37f., 45, 211 n.51
 animals: real sacred 15, 39; sacrificial
 23, 28, 32, 64, 74, 91, 168;
 theriolatry 189; totemism 198; bears
 21–3, 32, 34f., 38f., 88, 185, 188,
 190f., 195f., 198f.; birds 179–81;
 bulls 17, 37, 88, 134f., 137; cows 74,
 76, 84, 88, 100, 117, 124f., 129,
 133f., 141–4, 149, 196, 198f.; deer
 10–17, 23f., 39, 41f., 88, 135, 168f.,
 195f., 198f.; doves 186; goats 23, 28,
 32, 37, 107f.; horses 62, 67, 88,
 168f.; oxen 37, 134; wolves 37,
 179–82, 195f.
aphosiosis 134, 144, 168, 171
 aristocratic privilege *see* selectivity
 astronomy, Greek 31, 182, 186f.
 axe, sacred 61, 136

 beauty 40f., 76, 89, 155, 168f., 189
 black 113f., 149, 160f., 169, 171; *see*
 also clothing
 boasting (motif) 15, 74, 77
 bones, import 51–3, 184
 boys' rites 33f., 35, 37, 38, 65–8, 86,
 90, 100–2, 109, 113–15, 131, 136,
 141, 158, 194f., 200; ephebes 2f., 40,
 67f., 113, 160, 194, 201; warrior
 initiation 26f., 54f., 65, 114, 181
 Bremmer's principle *see* myths
 (exaggeration)
 brothers, brotherhood 35, 67, 100, 113,
 141f.

 cannibalism 35, 106
 caves: significance of 91; Aroanian
 Mountains (Proitids) 78, 199f.;
 Brauron 25, 45; Eleusis 45; Kyllene,
 Mount (Hermes) 138; Magnesia
 (Cheiron) 50; Tretos, Mount
 (Nemean lion) 136
 chase 79, 82–5, 107, 158, 160f., 180f.,
 200
 childbirth, final transition 43f., 105,
 114f., 143, 191, 201
 chronology 31, 42, 83f., 172, 201, 220
 n.28
 clothing: bearskin 23, 126; black 82,
 113f.; bull-hide 135–7; *krokotos* 21,
 31, 37, 41, 88, 190; lionskin 136f.;
 maiden's 132; *nebris* 40f., 41, 199f.;
 nudity 31, 65, 176, 185, 186, 190;
 transvestism 53–5, 65, 67, 102, 167,
 176f., 213 n.9; white 31
 coins, Greek 108, 184, 188
 colonization *see* migration
 continuity of cult 4f., 25, 44f., 128f.,
 147, 226 n.25

 dance 31, 33, 39, 62, 85f., 104f., 133,
 135, 145, 150, 158, 179, 181, 202
 daub 76, 78, 88, 91–3, 103f., 123,
 133f., 202
 death: significance of 13, 15, 19, 35–7,
 47, 61f., 67f., 86, 104, 114, 167, 171,
 201f.; sacrifice/killing of boy/girl 4,
 17, 21–4, 35–7, 47, 59–62, 68, 79, 84,
 139, 158f., 169–73, 186, 197, 233
 n.12; suicide 89, 158, 167f., 173, 232
 n.2; *see also* human sacrifice
 dialects 55f., 83f., 94, 147

 ephebes *see* boys' rites
 eponyms 14, 21, 51, 53, 56–8, 71, 101,

SUBJECT INDEX

- 120f., 126, 148, 152, 168f., 174, 180, 182f., 185, 197
- famine *see* plague
- fatherhood, significance of 3, 14, 61, 63–5, 68, 86f., 114, 118, 125, 184
- fertility 6f.
- fifty, group of 65, 138, 142, 149, 157f., 196
- genealogy 5, 10, 75f., 97, 101, 111, 124, 153, 182
- gods, complementary 172f., 187f., 198f.
- gyne, gynaiques see* women
- hair, shearing 2f., 45, 50, 66, 68, 76, 88, 123, 134, 151, 169
- hero cult, *heroôn*: antiquity of 4, 49, 71f., 107f., 129; nature of 43–6, 57f., 114; *see also* tombs, names of particular heroes/heroines
- human sacrifice 17, 18, 35–7, 195, 207 n.15; *see also* death
- huts, initiation 45, 102, 109f.
- hypostasis *see* identification
- identification: leading initiate = god(dess) 40f., 46, 105, 131f., 143, 228 n.44; god(dess) = hero(ine) 45f., 68, 143, 167f., 176, 179, 189f.; worshippers = mythic group 81, 102, 104f., 150, 157, 190
- impotence 109
- initiation: nature of 6, 193f.; age at 27, 28–31, 33f., 40, 88, 197; decline of 44, 131, 135, 141f., 203; and festival 27, 31, 39–41, 84f., 90; individual 29f., 196; nubility rites 39; *see also* boys' rites, passage rites, selectivity, renewal
- king: primeval 63f., 71–3, 98f., 101, 123f., 133, 148, 158; sacrality 101f., 114, 129, 198
- kore see* maidens
- kouros see* boys' rites
- krateriskoi* 26, 27, 31–3, 38, 45, 136, 194, 202
- kokotos see* clothing
- leading initiate 36, 40f., 46, 62, 86, 100f., 105, 131–3, 162, 179, 189f.; *see also* identification, priesthood
- 'madness' ch.4 *passim*, esp. 89, 134, 140, 171, 194f.
- maidens, maidenhood 1–3, 75f., 81f., 88f., 105, 132–5, 143, 163, 177, 189, 197, 200; *see also* childbirth
- marginality 32f., 39, 40, 54, 68f., 72, 90, 100, 103f., 114, 129, 159f., 163, 168, 170–3, 177, 180
- marriage, group 7, 39f., 41, 83f., 86, 105, 142, 155, 161, 194, 200f.
- medicine, Greek 2, 79, 85, 89
- migration of tribes 5f., 14, 49, 51, 57, 64, 68f., 94, 98, 107, 121, 164, 174, 177, 183, 192–5, 204; colonization (Achaian) 57f., 64, 94, (Aeolic) 14, 56, 194f., (Arcadian) 183, (Argive) 16, 122, 150; *see also* Sacred Spring
- motherhood 127, 133, 143, 153, 188, 191; *see also* childbirth, womanhood
- mud *see* daub
- music 138; *see also* dance
- mutilation 29, 35
- myths: antiquity and origins 4, 24, 44f., 67, 102, 119, 134, 153, 173, 194–7, 205 n.5; exaggeration in (Bremmer's principle) 23, 37, 201; historicizing interpretation 97, 106, 232 n.5; last evidence for ritual 5, 24, 34, 47, 190, 203; locations in 4f., 49, 51, 80f., 97, 128, 136, 141, 150, 174, 193f., ('beyond') 49, 54, 114, 149, 160, 231 n.24; loss of fixity 5, 22f., 126f., 135, 141f., 143; motif-combination 60f., 140–4, 156, 177; same name, same function 62f., 86, 122, 177; strained motivation in 15, 144, 155f., 180, 188f.
- name changing (initiatory) 55, 104, 123, 167, 169–71
- nebris see* clothing
- night 7, 31, 33, 59, 61, 103f., 133, 170, 172, 182f., 196, 202
- nudity *see* clothing
- nymphs 62f., 86, 102–5, esp. 104f., 123, 150, 182, 198, 201
- old women 132f.
- oracles 20–3, 51–3, 124, 132, 154, 169
- parthenos see* maidens
- passage rites 2f., 36, 66, 104; seclusion 31, 37–9, 62, 85, 88–90, 100, 102–4, 126, 130, 134, 140, 142, 144, 151,

SUBJECT INDEX

- 159, 177, 189, 197, 199f.; liminal stage 39, 100, 104, 138, 140f., 159f., 189f., 197, 199f.; incorporation 39f., 85f., 90, 104, 135, 200
- periodicity 28, 31, 42, 47, 196f.
- physiology 2, 29f., 89
- pillars, sacred *see* trees
- plague and famine (motif) 16, 21f., 24, 168f., 201
- poets: educators of age-class 103, 105, 194; and myth 5, 9–19 *passim*, 44, 49, 55, 66–8, 74–6, 78, 80f., 117, 120, 126f., 150, 203
- precincts and groves 25, 88, 129, 152
- priesthood: of boy/girl 18, 26, 114, 118, 129–34, 169, 171, 173, 197f.; and initiation 32, 105, 129–34, 162, 196; first priests 18, 23, 33, 43, 118, 160
- puberty *see* physiology
- races *see* sport
- renewal of society 7, 31, 33, 35, 42, 47, 84, 104, 115, 133, 143, 163, 172, 183, 191, 193–202
- reversal 31, 84, 138, 160, 177; *see also* clothing (transvestism)
- rivers 50, 58, 66, 100, 102–4, esp. 104, 120f., 123, 129, 135, 151f., 160, 167, 169–71, 174f., 190
- rustling 99, 101f., 109f., 114, 138, 140f., 144
- Sacred Spring 28, 64, 195f., 201
- scholiasts 11f., 26–31
- sea 39f., 103, 153, 170
- seers 16f., 100–2, 109, 112f., 141, 162
- selectivity 26–8, 114, 130f., 134, 151, 170–2, 191, 200, 202, 209 n.32
- sisterhood 100, 150
- sport 31f., 39, 133, 136f., 161, 199, 221 n.39
- springs 25, 56, 78, 91, 121, 123, 143, 160, 173, 213 n.14
- statues 87, 98, 105, 138; wooden (*xoana*) 73, 76, 87f., 118f., 148f., 156, 161, 168
- stones, sacred 59–61, 135, 137–40, 145, 171, 229 n.51
- synoikism 28f., 169, 172f., 184, 194, 198
- tithes 28, 64
- tombs: significance of 1, 3, 43f., 151, 167, 187; Achilles (various) 55–8; sons of Aigypptos (Argos) 159; Amazons 62; Argos I 121; Arkas (Mantineia) 184, 188; Danaids (Lindos) 151; Danaos (Argos) 147f.; Erechtheus (Athens) 148; Eurypylos (Patrai) 170; Hekaërges and Opis (Delos) 45; Hektor (Thebes) 51–3; Herakles' children (Thebes) 139; Hippodameia's suitors (Olympia) 158; Hypermestra (Argos) 156; Ilos (Troy) 148; Iphigeneia (Brauron) 22, 25, 32, 45; Iphigeneia (Megara) 19f., 89; Iphinoë (Megara) 1–3, 86, 167, 203; Iphinoë (Sikyon) 78, 85f., 107, 167; Kallisto (Mainalos) 184; Melampous (Aigosthena) 108; Melampous (Arcadia) 107; Pelops (Olympia) 147; Phoroneus (Argos) 120
- transvestism *see* clothing
- trees and pillars, sacred 88, 110, 118f., 124–8, 145, 148, 175, 179
- virginity 2
- weaving: Athens 30; Elis 31; Brauron 32
- white *see* clothing, daub
- wife-winning 102, 141f., 156f., 161, 200; Melampous and Bias 75–7, 80, 86, 95, 99f., 111–13, 141f.
- wild and tame 21–3, 34f., 177, 180, 210 n.45
- women, womanhood 2f., 57, 62, 74–86, esp. 81f., 91, 105, 115, 134f., 143, 160, 163, 177, 191, 197, 200; *see also* old women
- wrath of the goddess (motif) 7, 15f., 37, 74–7, 88, 125, 134, 136, 144, 168–71, 173, 178, 185

INDEX OF MODERN AUTHORS

- Beard, M. 197
Bethe, E. 50–3, 112
Brelich, A. 22, 27, 29, 37, 81, 171, 188
Bremmer, J.N. 37, 55, 82, 90, 131, 153, 158, 197
Burkert, W. 28, 36, 44, 81, 131, 135–7, 142, 159, 163f., 181, 188, 195
Busolt, G. 72

Cantarella, E. 44, 89
Cauer, P. 56
Chantraine, P. 105
Clement, P. 41
Cole, S.G. 32
Crusius, O. 49, 51

Drews, R. 72, 128
Dümmler, F. 53

Eliade, M. 36f., 43, 65

Farnell, L.R. 45, 103, 168
Faure, P. 152
Franz, R. 186
Frazer, J.G. 35, 103
Friedlaender, P. 81, 88, 98, 127, 150, 155, 160

Gaertringen, H. von 41
Garvie, A.F. 155
Graf, F. 37f., 84f., 103, 157, 160f., 163, 172
Grégoire, H. 46

Halliday, W.R. 59
Harrison, J.E. 36
Henrichs, A. 17, 189

Heubeck, A. 101
Hommel, H. 19, 202

Immerwähr, W. 181

Jacoby, F. 20, 51, 119, 120
Jeanmaire, H. 22, 29
Jouan, F. 11, 13

Kahil, L.G. 25, 27, 29
Kelly, T. 127
Kjellberg, L. 13, 46
Kondis, J.D. 26, 29, 46
Kretschmer, P. 12, 126

La Fontaine 65
Leaf, W. 51
Lloyd-Jones, P.H.J. 29, 33, 105

Massenzio, M. 172
Meyer, E. 57, 127
Müller, K.O. 189

Nilsson, M.P. 44, 107, 164

Palmer, L.R. 99
Parke, H.W. 35
Pestalozza, U. 131
Pfister, F. 86
Propp, V.J. 142
Przyluski, J. 195
Puhvel, J. 71

Robert, C. 9, 15, 45, 51, 64, 77, 101, 125
Robert, L. & J. 38
Roller, D.W. 59

INDEX OF MODERN AUTHORS

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Sale, W. 24, 186–8, 190 | Turner, V.W. 104 |
| Schachter, A. 25, 60 | |
| Simon, E. 27 | Van Gennep, A. 3 |
| Sissa, G. 2 | Vian, F. 79 |
| Solmsen, F. 17 | |
| Sourvinou-Inwood, C. 25, 30 | Walcot, P. 99, 138 |
| | Wernicke, C. 35 |
| Thomson, G. 103 | Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, U. von 13 |
| Travlos, J. 38 | Wright, J.C. 128f. |